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ARTIST-BIOGRAPHIES.

vol. 2

RAPHAEL.



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PREFACE.

THE object of this work is to place before the people a biography of the greatest of Italian painters, at once authentic, compact, and inexpensive. The last two requisites are in the province of the publishers; and in order to approximate to the first the author has labored long and earnestly. All the recorded facts of the artist's personal and professional life have here been set forth, with some of the outside influences which combined to shape his course and indicate the lines for the development of his genius. Many of his famous pictures have also been described, with as much of detail as would interest the general reader; and their oftentimes singular histories are set forth briefly and without needless words.

Students of the history of art who wish to read and ponder over long discussions on minor points of Raphael's life, or who enjoy the singular and sometimes amusing theories of French and German critics, can find satisfaction in the numerous heavy tomes and

manifold volumes wherein these subjects have been infinitesimally wire-drawn. The present work aims at giving the results of such controversies, without a paragraph of padding.

It is almost needless to say that the chief authority on which this biography rests is Passavant's "Raphael of Urbino" (in Paul Lacroix's edition, with revisional notes, published at Paris in 1860, in two volumes). With this art-classic I have compared the biographies of Raphael which have been written by Vasari, Quatremère de Quincy, Von Wolzogen, Charles Blanc, Charles Clement, C. P. Landon, and others. For Italian art-history at that epoch I have consulted Lanzi, Kugler, Eastlake, Layard, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Wornum, Rosini, Symonds, and Jameson. Gruyer's voluminous works on the Madonnas and the frescos of Raphael have also been useful; with the Italian travels of Taine, Hare, Jarves, Head, Burckhardt, Hillard, Waagen, Fairholt, &c.; and Dennistoun's "Dukes of Urbino," and Roscoe's "Leo X."

M. F. SWEETSER.

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RAPHAEL.

CHAPTER I.

Giovanni Santi. — Urbino. — Birth of Raphael. — Early Studies. — Perugia. — The Umbrian School. — Perugino.

RAPHAEL SANZIO DA URBINO, the Prince of Painters, was born in the city of Urbino, on the 6th of April, 1483. The family of Santi, or Sanzio, was an old and respectable one, which included several artists and ecclesiastics, and had recently moved to Urbino from the outlying castle-hamlet of Colbordolo. The young Giovanni Santi devoted himself to what he called "the admirable art of painting," and in due time became one of the best of the Umbrian artists, nearly equal to Perugino or Pinturicchio. About twenty of his pictures still remain, showing feeble color and rigid outlines, combined with correct drawing and simplicity of conception. Giovanni was also a poet, and wrote a quaint epic of two hundred

and twenty-four pages in *terza rima*, now in the Vatican Library, celebrating the martial deeds of the Duke of Urbino.

The natal city of Raphael stands on a bold cliff over the brawling Metaurus, surrounded by the sharp peaks of the central Apennines, and commanding a distant view of the blue Adriatic. It is now a half-forgotten town of eight thousand inhabitants, "presenting more forcibly the appearance of fallen grandeur than any town in Italy;" and is still remarkable for the extraordinary beauty of its youths. In the fifteenth century it was called "the Italian Athens," and stood pre-eminent in religion, culture, and chivalry, under the patriarchal government of Federigo da Montefeltro, a valiant general and judicious art-patron. For fourteen years he kept twenty or thirty copyists at work transcribing Greek and Latin manuscripts on vellum, which were afterwards bound in crimson velvet with silver clasps. On his return from the Papal-Venetian wars, he built the most splendid palace in Italy, beautified the city with gardens and statuary, and surrounded himself with artists and learned men.

Amid these glad activities of the liberal arts

Giovanni Santi prospered amain, and soon married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, with whom he lived in rare felicity. To this couple a child was born, to whom Giovanni gave the name of Raphael, as if he foresaw his glorious future, while at the same time he declined to follow the prevalent Italian custom of providing a wet-nurse for him, desiring the mother to nurse the child herself. The house in which Raphael was born is still reverently preserved as public property, and stands on a steep hillside up which the pack-mules clamber, cat-like, over rugged stone steps. It contains a fresco of the Madonna, painted by Santi, in which the face of the Virgin is a portrait of Magia, and that of the infant Jesus represents the young Raphael. Giovanni and Magia had three other children, all of whom died young; and in 1491 the mother herself died also. Seven months later, Giovanni, feeling that his beloved boy needed a woman's ministrations, married Bernardina di Parte, the goldsmith's daughter, a lady of strong and determined character.

The young child grew up in the hillside home, under the tender care of his mother and the tutel-

age of his father, who guarded him from all unworthy associations. He spent much time in the studio, and was familiar with the implements and terms of art from his earliest childhood. Several crude Umbrian paintings are claimed by tradition as his juvenile works, but their authenticity is denied by the best authorities. In 1492 Santi frescoed the Tiranni chapel, at Cagli, in his best Mantegnesque manner. At this time the lad was with him, perhaps as a humble assistant, and his portrait is recognized in the sweet face of one of the angels in the fresco.

There is a tradition that Raphael received his first lessons in art from Luca Signorelli or Timoteo della Vite; but Lanzi says that he was instructed by Fra Carnevale, the best painter then in Urbino, whose pictures were certainly carefully studied both by Raphael and Bramante. It is also reported that Venturini, the tutor of Michael Angelo, taught him the Latin language; and that Bramante, Pacciolo, and other members of the galaxy of learned men then at the court of Duke Guidobaldo, assisted in other branches of his education.

Giovanni Santi died in 1494, leaving his widow

Bernardina and his brother Don Bartolommeo Santi, a well-to-do ecclesiastic, to act as guardians for his orphaned boy. But Bernardina was a resolute woman, and Bartolommeo was a grasping and officious priest; and they soon became engaged in sharp contentions about the management of the Santi estate. Raphael was neglected amid these domestic turmoils, until his well-beloved uncle Simone Ciarla, appreciating his genius, and deploring his unhappy situation, arranged that he should be sent away to pursue his studies in art. After a careful consideration of the advantages of the schools of Leonardo, Bellini, Mantegna, Francia, and Perugino, it was decided to commit him to the care of the latter. There is a tradition that the painter, after inspecting several of the lad's sketches, exclaimed, "Let him be my pupil: he will soon become my master."

Perugia, where the young student remained for nearly nine years, is one of the most picturesque of the renowned hill-cities of Italy. Its ponderous walls and gray Etruscan bastions crown a high green hill, and are overtopped by a cluster of church towers and domes. The battle-

ments command a magnificent view over the valley of the Tiber and the white cities of Spoleto, Assisi, and Foligno, and along the lofty and austere Apennines, from Radicofani to the cloud-piercing Monte Caltrio. The steep and rocky streets open on paved squares, adorned with ancient sculptured fountains and papal statues, and overlooked by rugged Gothic façades and vast silent churches, rich in mediæval monuments and Pre-Raphaelite paintings. At a remote period the Etruscan city of Perusia stood here, and was destroyed by Augustus Cæsar, who replaced it by a Roman military colony, afterwards the prey of the Goths under Totila. In the Middle Ages it was seized by the ferocious Baglioni family, who held it for several generations, desolating the Umbrian Campagna by forays from their grim lair. These lion-hearts guarded the city while Raphael dwelt there; and the public squares often ran with noble blood, when the rival Oddi chieftains were cut to pieces by their pitiless foes, and the cathedral was so stained with massacres, that it was washed with wine and reconsecrated. The memories of these terrible conflicts, prolonged through the years of his so-

journ, are preserved in certain of Raphael's later paintings.

One of the strangest phenomena of the Middle Ages was the growth and culmination of the Umbrian school of painting in the midst of these scenes of rapine and carnage. Drawing their earliest inspiration from Siena, the Umbrian artists had preserved a quiet and contemplative spirituality of manner, even in the face of the popular Florentine realism, and had developed the expression of ardent religious aspirations and profound devotion. For centuries the earnest mountaineers had revered the memory of the marvellous St. Francis, "The Seraphic," who was buried among them; and from his sacred mausoleum at Assisi had emanated the mighty influences which were manifested in the solemn tenderness and ecstatic contemplations of myriads of disciples. With the grim austerity of its rugged heights and the sympathetic sweetness of its rich and flowery valleys, the land seemed created for mystery, and was peopled with legends. Isolated among the glens of the cloudy Apennines and remote from the influences of the history and art of pagan or papal Rome, as well as from the

materialistic methods of the commercial cities of the coast, the spirit of the people was reflected by their pietistic artists, who formed what may be called the last group of purely Christian painters. The pictorial flowering of this devout spirit appeared in Bonfigli, Santi, Francia, and Perugino, in pictures whose mechanical defects are counterbalanced by their evidence of religious enthusiasm.

Perugino was born in 1446, at the highland hamlet of Città della Pieve, and at an early age was carried to Perugia, where he studied art with a local painter. He afterwards entered the Florentine studio of Verocchio, in company of Leonardo, and labored diligently, in painful and abject poverty, until he became the most popular painter of Italy, and Rome and Florence contended for his presence. Although exhibiting more artistic symmetry than the older Umbrian works, his figures are often stiff and ungraceful, and are painted in a hard and dry manner. It has been said that Raphael's Madonnas are beautiful and gracious, but those of Perugino are innocent and saintly. The history of Perugino has been called "the saddest in the annals of Chris-

tian art." He was an adherent of the noble Savonarola, while laboring in Florence under a rolling fire of hostile criticism; but after the martyrdom of the great reformer, he renounced his faith in God and man. While on his death-bed, in 1524, he refused a confessor, saying, "I wish to see how a soul will fare in that Land, which has not been confessed." Ruskin calls him "a noble, gracious, and quiet laborer, — never weary, never impatient, never untender, never untrue. Not Tintoret in power, not Raphael in flexibility, not Holbein in variety, not Luini in love — their gathered gifts he has in balanced and fruitful measure, fit to be the guide and impulse and father of all."

After settling at Perugia the master painted an immense number of pictures, which are now scattered in all the galleries of Europe, showing the tender earnestness of his renewed earlier style, with marvellous faces and grouping, and backgrounds of fair landscapes and bright skies. He was driven by an inordinate desire for money, and became, as Taine says, a mere saint-manufacturer, accumulating great wealth, and owning numerous houses in Florence and Perugia.

CHAPTER II.

Raphael in Perugino's Studio. — Early Works. — At Città del Castello. — At Siena. — "Lo Sposalizio." — Honors at Urbino. — Ambition.

RAPHAEL entered Perugino's studio late in 1495, and remained there nearly nine years, conforming to the rigid discipline of the master, and gaining a thorough knowledge of the *technique* of his profession. Among his comrades and fellow-pupils were Pinturicchio, Lo Spagna, L'Ingegno, Ferrari, and Alfani. The master soon utilized his services on the constantly increasing work for the churches, and parts of Perugino's large altar-pieces are now recognized as of his pupil's execution. Raphael's copy of the "Infant Jesus and St. John," in distemper, on a gold background, is at the San Pietro Church in Perugia; and the large "Resurrection of Christ," now in the Vatican, was also a copy. "The Archangels Michael and Raphael" were painted by his own hand, for the wings of a large "Nativity" at Pavia; and were removed to

Paris in 1797, and afterwards to the British National Gallery. A few of Raphael's studies at this period are now in England and at Venice.

In 1499 the young student was summoned to Urbino to mediate in a new and bitter quarrel between his stepmother and the rapacious Bartolommeo Santi. He soon quieted the domestic storm, and settled an annuity on the persecuted lady, after which he returned to Perugia. A portrait painted about this time by Vite or Ghirlandajo, and now in the Borghese Palace, shows the great physical beauty of the youth.

In the year 1500, while Perugino was at Florence, Raphael was called to Città del Castello, where he sojourned for some time at the court of Vitelli, the head of the league which had recently defeated the papal army and forced Urbino to ransom its captive Duke. Here he painted a processional banner for the Trinità Church, showing St. Sebastian and St. Roch kneeling before the Holy Trinity, and, on the other side, the Creator approaching the sleeping Adam, and about to make Eve. The proud little church still preserves this canvas with jealous care. A more important picture was "The Coronation of St

Nicholas Tolentino," which remained in the Augustinian Church for two hundred and eighty-nine years, when it was purchased by Pope Pius VI., and disappeared during the French invasion of Italy. "The Crucifixion, with Four Saints," was executed for the Gavarni family, and after remaining for three centuries in the Dominican Church, passed through the galleries of Cardinal Fesch and Prince Canino to Lord Ward's collection. The works which the young artist left at Città del Castello are in the Peruginesque manner, and possess but few traits of originality.

In the same year Raphael assisted his master in the great frescoes in the Sala del Cambio, or municipal chamber of commerce, a dusty old hall which is now often reverently visited by art-pilgrims. These rich decorations included representations of the Pagan Virtues, the Triumph of Religion, the Nativity, and the Transfiguration, attended by a confused company of saints and sibyls, prophets and philosophers. It is thought that Raphael painted the prophets and sibyls, and most of the arabesques.

As Perugino declined under a faith blotted out and an invention paralyzed, Raphael advanced,

slowly acquiring a deeper spirituality of character and a closer fidelity to nature. Among his productions at this time were the "Solly Madonna," now at Berlin; the "Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine," in the Northumberland Collection; and the beautiful "Alfani Madonna," recently removed from Perugia. These works were executed in Perugino's studio, in the building which is still carefully preserved at No. 18, Via Deliziosa, near the city wall.

In 1502 Cardinal Piccolomini engaged Pinturicchio to adorn the library of the Siena Cathedral with ten subjects from the life of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. The fortunate artist induced Raphael to aid him with certain drawings for this important work, in connection with which he spent the summer of 1502 in Siena. Raphael's drawings for the first and fifth pictures are still preserved. The hero-worshipping Vasari and several other authors credit the best coloring in these frescos to Raphael; but there is no sufficient reason for thus detracting from the merit of the amiable Pinturicchio, whose work is still famous for its beauty and richness.

In 1503 the young artist executed several in-

teresting easel-pictures, including the small and delicately drawn "Madonna between St. Jerome and St. Francis," now in the Berlin Museum. "The Coronation of the Virgin" was a large work in the Umbrian manner, though the four angels around the Madonna, and the twelve Apostles at the flower-filled tomb, show a marked approach towards the later style. The Coronation was ordered by the Lady Maddalena degli Oddi; and was carried to France during the Napoleonic invasion, and afterwards restored to the Vatican. "The Staffa Madonna" is an exquisitely finished circular picture, showing the Virgin pensively walking in a rural spring-time landscape, with snowy mountains in the distance. It remained in the Staffa Palace, at Perugia, for 368 years, and was sold to the Emperor of Russia, in 1871, for $70,000.

When about twenty years old, Raphael illustrated his position and temptations in the picture of "The Knight's Dream," now in the British National Gallery. It shows an armor-clad youth, sleeping on his shield at the foot of a laurel-tree, approached by two female figures, one of whom, gentle and serious, bears a book and sword, invit-

ing to the noble ambition of study or arms, while the other, beautiful and brilliant, calls him to the joys of earthly luxury in the stately city beyond. The small picture of a young man, painted by Raphael, and now at the South-Kensington Museum, is supposed by some to represent the artist himself; and an undoubted portrait of this period, by a fellow-pupil, is now at Oxford. Tradition claims that about the same date Raphael painted "The Adoration of the Magi," for the Abbey of Ferentillo, which was purchased for the Berlin Museum for $6,000; but most critics refer this work to Lo Spagna.

When the Urbinese lad entered Perugino's studio, in 1495, the master was engaged on a picture of the *Sposalizio*, or Espousals of the Virgin, for the Cathedral of Perugia (and now in the Caen Museum). It was representative of a scene from the *Flos Sanctorum*, or the Gospel of the Nativity, then very popular in the Italian church. On finally leaving his master's studio, the young artist was commissioned by the Franciscans of Città del Castello to paint the same subject for their church; and he imitated the older work, though with superior perspective, and more beauty

and graciousness. In 1798 Count Lecchi of Brescia, commanding a French brigade, with sword in hand compelled the magistrates of Perugia to present this picture to him; and it is now the chief ornament of the Brera Gallery at Milan. It is well preserved, and is the best example of Raphael's first or Peruginesque style. The "St. Sebastian," at Bergamo, dates from the same period.

In the autumn of 1504, Raphael returned to his native city, which had recently passed through a series of disasters. The viperous Cæsar Borgia had defrauded Duke Guidobaldo of his army and treasury, and then occupied his territories. A year later the Borgia Pope and his evil son were poisoned; and the Urbinese expelled the alien troops, and welcomed back their Duke from his exile at Venice. Guidobaldo was appointed Standard-Bearer of the Holy Church; and under the benign rule of its learned and pious prince, the golden age returned to the city, and the foremost scholars of Italy entered her gates. The Duchess Elisabetta and other high-born dames, who stimulated a pure chivalry among the denizens of the palace, took a warm interest in the

young Raphael, and helped him to preferment and honor. He made copies of the portraits of ancient philosophers and poets, in the Ducal Library, and a sketch of the city, which he carried away as a memento of the home of his childhood. He also painted for the Duke, "Christ on the Mount of Olives," now in England; small round pictures of the Pietà, St. Ercolano, and St. Lodovico, in the Berlin Museum; and the "St. George slaying the Dragon," and "St. Michael attacking Satan," in the Louvre.

But he soon wearied of the quiet provincial court, and grew restless and eager to seek knowledge on wider fields, and to see the great achievements of Angelo and Leonardo in Florence. During the exile of the Medici, Pietro Soderini was Gonfaloniere of Florence, to whom Duke Guidobaldo's sister wrote the following letter:—

"Most magnificent and powerful lord, whom I must ever honor as a father: —

"He who presents this letter to you is Raphael, a painter of Urbino, endowed with great talent in art. He has decided to pass some time in Florence, in order to improve himself in his

studies. As the father, who was dear to me, was full of good qualities, so the son is a modest young man of distinguished manners; and thus I bear him an affection on every account, and wish that he should attain perfection. This is why I recommend him as earnestly as possible to your highness, with an entreaty that it may please you, for love of me, to show him help and protection on every opportunity. I shall regard as rendered to myself, and as an agreeable proof of friendship to me, all the services and kindness that he may receive from your lordship.

"From her who commends herself to you, and is willing to render any good offices in return.

"JOANNA FELTRA DE RUVERE,

"*Duchess of Sora, and Prefectissa of Rome.*

"URBINO, Oct. 1, 1504."

CHAPTER III.

Raphael's Life and Works at Florence, from 1504 to 1508. — Excursions to Perugia, Bologna, and Urbino. — The Summons to Rome.

A NEW life now opened before the young artist, in the peerless City of the Lilies. In the full flush of the dawning Cinque-cento, and surrounded by the rich art-treasures of the Tuscan capital, he daily drank in fresh inspirations. Among the jewels of Florence, even at that early day, were the marvellous bronze gates of Ghiberti, the marbles and bronzes of Donatello and Verocchio, the enamels of Luca della Robbia, the monuments of the Medici, the vast cathedral-dome of Brunelleschi, the campanile of Giotto, and the paintings of Masaccio, Ghirlandajo, Angelico, and the ancient schools, with the fresh wonders of Angelo and Leonardo. For the artist it was indeed a city of enchantment.

The brave old Gonfaloniere was then engaged in curbing the restless agitators of Florence, after

the decline of her strange Christocratic consecration, and appears to have been too busy to give much care to the ambitious youth from beyond the Apennines. But Raphael was received with warm hospitality by the wealthy Taddeo Taddei, the friend of the learned Bembo; and became intimate with San Gallo, Ghirlandajo, and other artists. With these associates he studied the frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine Church, which were famous for grand composition and soft coloring. Masaccio was the first Florentine who abandoned the formal method of Giotto, and became eminent, fifty years before, for love of nature, richness of coloring, and subtlety of expression. He is said to have held Giotto by one hand, and reached forward to Raphael with the other. Our artist's sketch-book contains numerous pictures from life, made at this period, and imitations of the great Florentine artists. He did not meet Leonardo, though under the profound influence of his works he sensibly modified his Umbrian manner, and adopted the serene smile which afterwards graced the faces of his Madonnas.

During the winter he painted for his friend

Lorenzo Nasi, the famous "Madonna della Gran Duca," now in the Pitti Palace, which is so called from the fact that the Grand-Duke Ferdinand III. of Tuscany carried it with him on all his journeys, and prayed before it every night and morning. The Madonna is depicted in a flowing blue mantle, looking down at the infant Jesus; and the firmly-outlined figures stand out in impressive distinctness. "The Madonna with the Children" is a round picture on wood, showing the Virgin and Child, with St. John and another infant, in a rich landscape. The Dukes of Terranova retained this at Naples until 1854, when the King of Prussia bought it for the Berlin Museum for $34,000. From the same period dates the small and finely-preserved Madonna which Lord Cowper purchased and transferred to his gallery at Penshangar, near Hertford; the portrait of young Riccio, in the Munich Pinakothek; and the large fresco of "The Last Supper," which was discovered in 1845 in the refectory of the Florentine Convent of St. Onofrio, and is attributed to Raphael by many connoisseurs.

Early in 1505, after several months of earnest labor, Raphael made a journey to Urbino, and

from thence to Perugia, where he finished the altar-piece which he had previously begun for St. Anthony's Convent. It was composed of a Madonna and Child, with the infant St. John and four other saints; a lunette representing the Eternal Father; and five predella-pictures, including Christ in the Garden, Christ Bearing the Cross, the Pietà, St. Francis, and St. Anthony of Padua. The main picture is at Madrid, and the predellas are in English galleries. "La Madonna dei Ansidei" was painted for the Ansidei Chapel, and is now at Blenheim Palace, in fine preservation. It is in the Florentine manner, and includes a portrait of the venerable Bishop Nicholas de Bari. Two of its predella-pictures are in Italy, and the third is at Lansdowne House. Other works executed in 1505 were the "Pax Vobis," a small picture of the risen Christ, now in the Brescia Gallery; and a fresco of a child's head on a brick, which King Louis of Bavaria bought for a thousand scudi, and removed to the Munich Pinakothek. These were followed by his first mural painting, in the Carmelite Church of San Severo, representing the Holy Trinity, surrounded by angels, and blessing

a group of sainted Carmelites. The grace and dignity of Angelico appear in this picture, whose arrangement was repeated in the famous Vatican fresco of "Theology."

Impatient to return to the prouder possibilities and freer criticisms of the great Tuscan city, and weary of the empty adulation of the provincial artists, he postponed orders from Atalanta Baglione and the nuns of Monte Luce, and left his work at San Severo half finished. Several years later it was completed by Perugino.

On his arrival at Florence, early in 1506, he found a new revelation of the power and possibilities of art in the two great cartoons then on exhibition, Leonardo da Vinci's "The Battle of the Standard," and Michael Angelo's "The Bathing Soldiers." These works, which have now disappeared, marked the culmination of the rivalry between the two great masters, and were designed for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio. They showed to the student of the tenderness and sweetness of the Umbrian school new realms of art, in which the canvas should exhibit scenes of vigorous and heroic life, and the intensity of the highest passions should be depicted

in glowing colors. But, though permeated by these new thoughts, the artist refused to abandon the traditions of the last of the schools of Christian art, and would not throw himself into the strong current of paganized sentiment which was rising so rapidly about him.

He re-entered the coterie of artists and patricians which assembled at leisure hours in the house of Baccio d'Agnolo, the architect who was then supervising so many new buildings. Here he met Sansovino, Lippi, Cronaca, Majani, Granacci, the San Galli, and the great Angelo, and listened with deep interest to their discussions about the principles of art. Through his intimacy with certain wealthy merchants and nobles, he secured several orders for portraits, the best of which were those of the art-patron Angelo Doni, and Maddalena his wife. These are now in the Pitti Palace, and show warm coloring and careful finish, combined with poor drawing and timid execution.

Raphael next painted the celebrated "Madonna del Cardellino," or "Virgin of the Goldfinch," as a wedding-present for his friend Nasi, a frequenter of Agnolo's symposia. The Virgin

is shown as seated in a graceful landscape, looking with unspeakable tenderness at the infant Jesus, who is about to caress a goldfinch held by St. John. This picture was sacredly preserved until the fall of the Nasi Palace, in 1547, when it was broken in pieces. Carefully repaired and restored, it now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Uffizi Tribune.

The artist next showed his appreciation of Taddei's courtesy, and his warm-hearted fellowship at Agnolo's reunions, by painting for him the famous pictures of "The Madonna in the Meadow," now in the Vienna Belvedere, and "The Holy Family at the Palm-Tree," in the Bridgewater Gallery at London. This Madonna shows Raphael's nearest approach to Leonardo's manner, and depicts the Virgin sitting in a flowery meadow, and holding the infant Jesus, who looks with sweet gravity at the kneeling St. John. "The Holy Family" shows the Madonna and Child near a palm-tree, with St. Joseph kneeling before them and offering flowers. The contemporary "Tempi Madonna" was painted for the Tempi family, and was discovered in their Florentine palace three centuries later, and sold

to the art-loving and munificent King Louis of Bavaria for $16,000.

Early in 1506 Raphael journeyed Northward over the Apennines to the famous old city of Bologna, where he became intimate with Francesco Francia, "one of the most sincerely pious of Christian painters;" and painted "The Nativity" for Bentivoglio, the lord of the city. The busy artist next visited his native city, which had just been scourged by the plague. The peaceful and equitable reign of Guidobaldo had nevertheless increased the prosperity of Urbino, and enriched its palaces and people, so that his was the foremost among the minor Italian courts, whether in learning or morals, gayety or splendor. Among its members were Andrea Doria, the Genoese Admiral; the exiled Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Pope Leo X.; the soldier Ottaviano Fregoso, prospective Duke of Genoa; Federigo Fregoso, afterwards Cardinal-Archbishop of Salerno; the Count of Canossa, some time Bishop of Bayeux; the valiant and stainless Count Castiglione, whom Charles V. called "one of the best knights in the world;" the wise Bibiena, afterwards a cardinal and the light of Rome; and the scholar Bembo,

who became cardinal under Leo X. Castiglione described the manners of the palace in "Il Libro del Cortigiano" (The Courtier's Book), several passages of which imply that Raphael was frequently present, and was highly regarded, at the discussions of the literati.

Henry VIII. of England had sent the Abbot of Glastonbury to Guidobaldo, with the order and insignia of the Garter; and the Duke showed his gratitude by despatching Castiglione with rich presents to the King, who received him at London with great pomp. Among the gifts was a small picture of "St. George and the Dragon," by Raphael, which afterwards passed through strange adventures, and is now in the Hermitage Palace at St. Petersburg, hung in the manner of an *ex voto*, over a perpetually burning lamp.

During this visit Raphael painted the long-lost portraits of Guidobaldo and his Duchess, the heir-apparent, Bembo, and others; and "The Holy Family with the Beardless St. Joseph," now at the Hermitage Palace. His first classic theme, and one of happy augury, was "The Three Graces," which was suggested by an antique group at Siena, and is now in Lord Ward's col-

lection. The small "Orleans Madonna," lately bought by the Duke of Aumale for $30,000, is a pleasing work in the Florentine manner, with certain details afterwards added by David Teniers. The most interesting picture of this period was a portrait of the artist himself, now in the Uffizi Gallery, showing a pale and gentle face, full of nobility and earnestness, with brown eyes and hair, and a slender figure clad in plain black. Eastlake thinks that he remained at Urbino until autumn, when he met Pope Julius II., who came to the city with twenty-two cardinals and a brilliant retinue of halberdiers and men-at-arms.

Raphael set out on his third journey to Florence late in 1506, and paused on the way over the mountains, at the Tuscan Abbey of Vallombrosa, where he painted portraits of Blasio and Baldassare, eminent Benedictine monks. These pictures are now at the Florentine Academy, and show a spirited execution and severe correctness of drawing.

On reaching Florence he painted the valuable "Holy Family of the Canigiani Family," a pyramidal group composed of the Virgin and Child, with St. Elizabeth and St. John kneeling, and St.

Joseph leaning on a staff. It was presented to the Princess de' Medici on her marriage with the Elector Palatine, and is now at Munich. A contemporary work at Madrid shows the Virgin holding Jesus on a lamb, in a rich landscape; and another charming work of this season is the "St. Catherine" of the National Gallery, whose face is radiant with sacred peace and deep conservation.

Among Raphael's friends was the Dominican monk, Fra Bartolommeo, "the painter of devotion," who had renounced the profession of art at the instance of his friend Savonarola, burning his pictures on the great pyre of earthly vanities. After the reformer's martyrdom, he entered the Convent of San Marco, and gave himself up to the severest austerities. In 1506 his superior ordered him to resume his painting; but he labored in a feeble and perfunctory manner until he met the Urbinese artist, who gave him a fresh intellectual inspiration. In return, Bartolommeo instructed his friend in new modes of vivid coloring and rich arrangements of drapery, and taught him his system of grouping based on geometrical principles.

Early in 1507 the artist finished his studies for

the picture ordered by Atalanta Baglioni, the grieving mother of the murdered Grifonnetto, but rejected them at last for an adaptation of Mantegna's composition on the same subject. The result was the majestic "Entombment of Christ," full of consummate skill and anatomical knowledge, which is now the chief ornament of the Borghese Palace, and has been studied for centuries. This was in the artist's second manner, in which he painted the long-lost "Madonna with the Pink," of which several charming copies remain; and the more spiritual "Madonna della Casa Nicolini," which is now at Penshangar in England. The year 1507 was mainly devoted to perfecting the study of the Florentine masters.

In the first half of 1508, Raphael executed "The Virgin with Jesus Asleep," of which one or two replicas remain; and the "Madonna di Casa Colonna," an unfinished work in the Berlin Museum. "La Belle Jardinière," the gem of the Louvre, and one of the noblest achievements of human art, came next in order, and was the last of his important Tuscan pictures. It portrays the Virgin in a flowery landscape, looking with intense maternal tenderness into the celestial

eyes of the Child Jesus; and is pre-eminent for artless and idyllic grace and perfect harmony. Clement gives the origin of its name in a tradition that the model was a beautiful flower-girl, to whom the painter was much attached.

"The Madonna del Baldacchino" was one of his latest transitional works, and shows the influence of Fra Bartolommeo. The Virgin is on a high and canopied throne, pressing to her heart the Holy Child, who looks down on St. Peter and St. Bruno and other saints. It was ordered by the Dei family, but was not finished. Napoleon carried it away in 1798, and gave it to Brussels, whence it was restored to the Pitti Palace after 1815. Another beautiful but unfinished Madonna was presented by Pope Clement XI. to the Empress Elizabeth, and was included in the great Esterhazy Gallery, which was bought by Hungary in 1865 for the city of Pesth.

In April, 1508, Raphael wrote to his uncle Simone Ciarla, giving some details of his prospects, and asking that the new Duke of Urbino might send him a letter to the Gonfaloniere, by whose aid he could secure work in the Palaz-

zo Vecchio. It seems that the young aspirant wished to measure strength with Leonardo and Angelo, on the very ground of their triumphs.

At this time Raphael was twenty-five years old, and his fame had spread throughout Italy. Leonardo was in his fiftieth year, and Angelo in his thirty-third; and both stood at the zenith of their fame. For three years Raphael had sojourned in Florence, where he had executed about thirty pictures, some of which were among his noblest works. Meanwhile he had passed through a marvellous change, as the solemn influences of the Franciscan pietists had given place to the hurrying conflicts of the city of Savonarola and the Medici. The spiritual mysticism and sweet unearthly devoutness delineated by the artist in his earlier years, had yielded to a brilliant realism and a fascinating display of color. The practical theories of the Tuscan valleys, peopled with busy myriads, foremost in arts of luxury and culture, and exulting in civic splendor, had triumphed over the solemn unworldliness of the Umbrian mountains, standing in the dim light which emanated from Assisi. The pallid and nun-like oval faces of Raphael's

earlier Madonnas were replaced by types of a higher earthly beauty, in whom maternal affection often overflowed religious devotion; and the Virgin seemed to look on Jesus as her beloved child, rather than as her Divine Lord. The breezy landscapes and warm blue skies of his earlier works had been metamorphosed into elaborate architectural environings and richness of costume. The Syrian rustic had become a Florentine patrician.

Yet who shall say that this great change was not also a great advance? The pictures in the new manner show the Virgin as a tender human mother, with earnest impulses of affection, and expressions which are at once comprehensible and pleasing. The dry Peruginesque reverence has passed away; but a new element is added, appealing more surely to the universal human heart. And how great have been the gains in skill of draping, grouping, and coloring! The genius of the Urbinese youth, and the enthusiastic devoutness of his earlier training, had met and been influenced by the intense power of Angelo, the versatility of Leonardo, and the holiness of Fra Bartolommeo, whose most excellent traits

were assimilated by his glowing spirit, to appear in the great works of the future.

Perhaps the Duke of Urbino had used his influence for Raphael at the Vatican itself; perhaps the Pope had seen and admired his works while at Urbino; perhaps his kinsman Bramante, the papal architect, invited him to better his fortunes under his own patronage. He was summoned to Rome about the middle of the year 1508, and immediately departed with great joy to the Eternal City.

CHAPTER IV.

Raphael at Rome from 1508 to 1513, under Julius II. — The Vatican Frescos. — Influence of Michael Angelo. — La Fornarina.

In order to comprehend the state of affairs in Rome at this period, one must review its then recent history. At the time of Raphael's birth, Italy was free from foreign invaders, and was ruled by several petty princes and despots, over whom the Papacy strove to exercise a central power. The evil and simoniac Pope Sixtus IV. was then in power, and crushed the Colonna family, intrigued against the Medici, betrayed Venice, laid Florence under interdict, and founded the Inquisition in Spain. The next Pope, Innocent VIII., reduced the standard of morals so low that for many months at a time there was an average of fifteen assassinations daily in the city. He was succeeded by the Spanish Borgia, Alexander VI., a vigorous ruler and able financier, but filled with crimes, perfidies, and obscenities, and controlled

by his mistresses, Giulia Farnese and Vannozza. His illegitimate son, Cæsar Borgia, became the scourge of Italy, filling the land with carnage, poisoning the nobles and prelates, and abandoning the cities to rapine. France, Germany, and Spain invaded the peninsula with ferocious armies; Savonarola thundered from Florence against the desecrated chair of St. Peter, and the endless feuds of the Colonna and Orsini families reduced the Roman Campagna to a silent desolation. The land of the Madonna had become an Aceldama.

At the same time, in the quickening of intellectual life which war always brings, the Pagan revival was in full force at the brilliant little capitals of the principalities; and both art and literature advanced toward their culmination. Angelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, were the resplendent names of this period of art; and the republic of letters was honored by the genius of Ariosto, Sannazaro, Bembo, Politian, and Acquaviva.

After the brief reign of Pius III., Cardinal della Rovere succeeded to the papal tiara, under

the name of Julius II., in October, 1503. He was then advanced in years, but possessed indomitable energy and courage and considerable military skill. His court was the most brilliant in Europe, and he rigidly purified its morals. Many eminent scholars were attracted to settle near the Vatican by his wise and judicious patronage of art and letters. His absorbing ambition was for the glory and unity of Italy; and all political and military enterprises were devoted to freeing her shores from invaders. Julius attacked Venice with the ban of the Church and the armies of the League of Cambrai; and then opposed France with the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council and the battalions of the Holy League. The armor of the knightly commander was more congenial to this heroic soul than the robes of the ecclesiastic.

The artistic enterprises which the active mind of Julius conceived were on a magnificent scale, and included the reconstruction of St. Peter's Church, the erection of a costly mausoleum for himself, and the enlargement of the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican to the dimensions of a city under a single roof. It was to be made the

heart and centre of Christendom, and to contain not only the apartments of the Pope and his suite of nobles and prelates, ambassadors and courtiers, but also the offices and archives of the administration of the universal church.

The Pope received Raphael with cordiality upon his arrival at Rome, and commissioned him to fresco the hall of the judicial assembly called "La Segnatura." This was one of the four halls, or *Le Stanze*, which had already been decorated by Perugino, Francesca, and others. But the Pope was so astonished and pleased with Raphael's paintings in the first hall, that he commanded the destruction of the older works, in order that his new favorite might decorate the entire suite. The artist, however, preserved certain small works by Sodoma; and his reverence for his old master led to the retention of an entire vault which had been painted by Perugino. The Stanza della Segnatura was frescoed in 1508–11 by the master's own hand; the Stanza di Eliodoro in 1512–14, mostly by him; the Stanza dell' Incendio in 1514–17, by his pupils, and from his designs; and the Sala di Costantino in 1519–24 by his disciples, following his draw-

ings. For the work in the first three halls, he received thirty-six hundred ducats. The frescos were seriously injured in 1527, during the sack of Rome by the imperial troops under the Constable Bourbon, when the rude soldiery built their camp-fires in the Vatican. About the year 1700 they were restored by Carlo Maratti, "the last of the Romans," but are now much the worse for age.

For the decoration of the august chamber of the Segnatura, the artist sought conceptions of lofty dignity, and resolved to enter a new domain in art, by portraying in colors such imposing allegorical themes as Dante and Petrarch had already developed in flowing verse. The designs were of broad expanse, and ingeniously adapted to the Procrustean requirements of the various walls. While the origination and execution of the work is due to the daring conception of the painter, it is also evident that the extraordinary display of erudition in the details of the Segnatura frescos is a mirror of the best thought of the contemporary papal court. The artist is known to have obtained advice and information on certain points from learned scholars and prelates

then in the city; and he also wrote for counsel to his friend Ariosto, who was then at the court of Ferrara, engaged in the composition of the great epic of "Orlando Furioso."

The first of the Segnatura frescos was executed in 1508–9, and is called "Theology," or "The Debate of the Holy Sacrament," or "The Convocation of Saints." It is in two sections, representing the Church triumphant in glory, and the Church militant on earth. In the upper part is the Almighty Father, surrounded by a countless host of singing angels; and below Him is the enthroned Christ, with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. From these a half-circle of glorified prophets and apostles, sitting upon the clouds, extends out to the limits of the picture. Below the throne is the descending Dove of the Holy Spirit, flanked by cherubim bearing the gospels. The lower section is occupied by a semicircular line of prelates, with an altar in the centre on which the Holy Eucharist is exposed. Sts. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, the four Latin fathers, are nearest the altar, bearing their chief works; and in the groups beyond are a few laymen and schismatics, with Dante, Savonarola,

and Fra Angelico, and a great company of illustrious saints. The admirable grouping, rich coloring, perfect harmony, and noble significance of this picture place it above all rivalry in the history of ancient or modern art.

"The School of Athens" was the next of the Segnatura frescos, and shows an assembly of fifty-two ancient philosophers in a magnificent vaulted hall, with Plato and Aristotle in the foreground, surrounded by their disciples. On the left is Socrates, with Alcibiades and others, and also Pythagoras, illustrating his harmonies, with Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and the Saracen Averroes. On the right are the Epicureans and Stoics, with Archimedes and Zoroaster, and other masters. Diogenes sits on the central steps; and the hall is filled with other groups of antique sages, correctly costumed and picturesquely disposed, with the traditional Tuscan symmetry of arrangement. The conception of this picture was daring and without precedent, and combines high poetic inspiration with remarkable precision of idealized portraiture. Passavant calls this "the most magnificent work the master ever produced."

"The Parnassus" occupies another side of the

hall, and is surmounted by a sublime figure of Poetry, laurel-crowned, with soaring wings and star-strewn robes. Here Apollo is seen playing on a violin, under the laurels on the banks of the Hippocrene, and surrounded by the Nine Muses. On the left Homer is singing, and Dante and Virgil are in conversation; and in the foreground, near Sappho of Mytilene, the three lyric poets, Anacreon, Alcæus, and Petrarch, are talking with Corinna of Thebes. On the right are Pindar, Horace, and Ovid, with a group of mediæval Italian poets.

"Jurisprudence" is represented on the fourth side, over and around a window. On the left is the Emperor Justinian, with his jurists, founding the laws of the State by giving the Codex and the Pandects to Trebonian. On the right is Pope Gregory IX., with the features of Julius II., surrounded by cardinals, and establishing the laws of the Church by placing the Decretals in the hands of an advocate.

Some of the lunettes and ceiling-frescos were done by pupils, and show much inequality of execution; while the smaller historical scenes below were painted by Perino della Vaga, and add

greatly to the general effect of elegance and unity. They are in the new process of chiaro-scuro, an invention of Raphael. The leading merits of this great illuminated epic of humanity are purity and truth; and they show forth the influences of Leonardo and Bartolommeo, unaffected by the exaggerated grandeur of Angelo.

Ruskin says that in this hall the artist "wrote upon the walls the *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, of the Art of Christianity. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation." But the mind which remains unprejudiced by the quaint conceits of Anglican mediævalism must rejoice at the emancipation of Raphael and his successors from the formal traditions of the epoch of the dawn of art, and their advance into the realms of higher beauty. Standing like a rock in the midst of the downward current of materialism and pseudo-archaism in art, Raphael refused to yield to the fascinations of these corrupting influences, and contented himself with a close and profitable study of pure antiquity, without sinking into base imitation and servility. He blent the art-ideals of the Church with the triumphant theories of the Greek

sculptors, and thus conveyed "the golden treasure of the Christian spirit into the silver vessel of antiquity."

Until the Segnatura frescos were finished, Michael Angelo was engaged, in jealous seclusion, on the world-renowned frescos of the Sistine Chapel, which were not seen by his rival until they were publicly unveiled in 1512. Angelo was not friendly to his young competitor, and accused him of conspiring with Bramante to have him removed from the execution of the Sistine frescos, adding that "Whatever he knew of art he had learned from me." Though annoyed by this jealousy, which the great Tuscan also showed to many other artists, Raphael spoke highly of his masterly works, which were revealing new possibilities for art. Lanzi likens the rivalry of Raphael and Angelo to that between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in its beneficial results in stimulating both artists to their highest efforts. The Florentine biographers, Vasari and Condivi, were townsmen of Angelo, and hence arose their disparagement of his rival. Nor did their victim have a chance to repel their attacks; for when their books appeared, he was in his grave. Vasari's

work was published in 1550, under the title of "The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects." It was written in a quaint and attractive manner, but was based mainly on hearsay, and bristles with inaccurate statements and apocryphal anecdotes. Ruskin bluntly says that "Vasari is an ass with precious things in his panniers — but you must not ask his opinion on any matter."

During the first years of his life at Rome, Raphael lived in the four-story house which still remains at No. 124 Via Coronari, near the St. Angelo Bridge. Here he probably received his old master Perugino, who was at Rome from 1509 to 1512, and his early friends Pinturicchio and Signorelli. In September, 1508, he wrote a letter to his friend Francia, acknowledging the receipt of his portrait, and sending him a drawing of the "Præsepio," with a promise to forward his own portrait in return. He spoke of his intense activity, and alluded to the fact of his possessing pupils even at that early date. Soon afterwards Francia wrote in his honor a resounding laudatory sonnet, addressed "To the Zeuxis of our day."

In 1510 Marc Antonio Raimondi, of Bologna, the most famous engraver of ancient times, journeyed to Rome, and became closely connected with Raphael, who assisted him for several years. He engraved many of the artist's best works, not from the finished paintings, but from the drawings, aided by the master himself. By this means the ideas of the new school were spread far and wide over Europe; and the joint efforts of Raphael and Marc Antonio raised the art of engraving to an excellence which in some respects has never been surpassed. The plates were given to Baviera, the color-grinder for the studio, who derived great profits from their printing. Agostino Veneziano, Hugo da Carpi, Marco da Ravenna, and other artists also engraved Raphael's works, which were thus preserved in many duplicates. Prof. Müller of Düsseldorf has recently proved that Raphael was a *peintre-graveur*, like Dürer, and once made a remarkable plate of a Madonna.

During the three years of the Segnatura works, the master probably designed and left in various stages of progress numerous pictures, which he completed in rapid succession after that absorbing task was done. Eight of these inchoate

compositions were finished in 1511. "The Annunciation" was ordered for Agamemnon Grassi, of Bologna, and has long since disappeared. The magnificent portrait of Pope Julius II. represents a mild and thoughtful old ecclesiastic, with bright eyes and a long white beard. It is now in the Pitti Palace, with copies in the Uffizi Tribune and elsewhere. The portrait of the chivalrous young Marquis of Mantua is now at Charlcote Park, near Warwick. The portrait of Raphael made at this time has disappeared, but that of his mistress has been in the Barberini Palace since 1642. She is a beautiful half-draped girl of passionate expression, with a circlet of gold and jewels on her hair, and a bracelet on her left arm bearing the name *Raphael Urbinas*. Another portrait, now in the Louvre, showing a blue-eyed and light-haired youth, is sometimes incorrectly called his own likeness. "The Alba Madonna," a very beautiful round picture on wood, and a favorite subject with copyists, was purchased in England, by the Emperor of Russia, for $70,000, and is now in the Hermitage Palace. "The Aldobrandini Madonna," now in London, is notable for its clear flesh-tints, and

for the quiet coloring of the drapery and landscape.

The Madonnas of Raphael's Roman period are grander and stronger than those which he produced at Florence. He had now under his observation the stately women of Trastevere, who still claim to be the only descendants of the ancient Romans, and the magnificently formed inhabitants of the Campagna. Lanzi and Mengs attribute the grandeur of his third period, not to adaptations from other artists, nor yet to a close study of nature, but rather to his earnest contemplation of the antique, whose ideals at length became his inspiration. The gaunt figures of the Umbrian mountaineers were replaced by the noble dignity of Greek heroes and demi-gods. He was not satisfied with the study of the antique sculptures in Rome alone, but employed artists to copy the classical remains at Pozzuoli and other Italian towns, and even obtained transcripts of certain of the art-treasures of Greece. He forbade his pupils to make exact delineations of the actualities of their beautiful Italian models, establishing as a maxim that "We must not represent things as they are, but as they should be."

Eight pictures are referred to the year 1512. "The Loreto Madonna," after passing from Santa Maria del Popolo to Florence, and thence to the shrine at Loreto, disappeared during the storm of the French Revolution.

"The Madonna di Foligno" shows the Virgin and Child in a golden glory, among the clouds, with St. Jerome below, presenting the kneeling Sigismondo Conti, while St. Francis and St. John the Baptist are on the other side. Between these groups is a little naked angel, bearing a tablet; and the city of Foligno is seen in the background, with a bomb falling into it. This masterpiece is peculiar for its felicitous drawing, skilful chiaroscuro, and rich coloring; showing the influence of the gorgeous Venetian painters, one of whom, Sebastiano del Piombo, had arrived at Rome the previous year. It was a votive picture for Conti, the historian and Papal secretary; and in 1750 it was offered to the agent of the Elector of Saxony for $3,000, while the world-renowned "St. Cecilia" was offered for $18,000. The frugal commissioner haggled for a lower price, and lost both chances, to the great chagrin of his master. The picture was

carried to Paris by Napoleon, but was returned to Italy after 1815, together with scores of other plundered pictures.

About this time the wealthy Agostino Chigi was leading the life of a Mæcenas, assembling at his sumptuous feasts the chief nobles, artists, and literati of Rome, together with the queenly Imperia and other fair women. Chigi was from Siena, and was the greatest ship-owner in Italy, besides being the operator of lucrative salt and alum mines in the Papal States. He was highly honored by Julius II. and Leo X. for his probity and patriotism; and became also a patron of literature, establishing a printing-press to reproduce the Greek classics. Peruzzi, "the Raphael of architecture," had built him one of the handsomest Renaissance villas in Rome, in the ancient gardens of Geta, on the Tiber; and it had been frescoed by Sebastiano, Razzi, and Romano. As early as 1510, Raphael designed for Chigi two classic goblets, which were executed in bronze by Cesarino. The noble patron afterwards commissioned him to erect and decorate chapels in the churches of Santa Maria del Popolo and Santa Maria della Pace, the former

of which was built by Pope Paschal II., in 1099, on the spectre-haunted site of the grave of Nero. It contained the magnificent mausoleums of several patrician cardinals; and Chigi ordered Raphael to build a similar sepulchre-chapel for him. This work was carried on slowly and fitfully, until the deaths of both artist and patron, which occurred in the same month. Raphael drew several of the cartoons; and the mosaics for the dome, showing the Creator and the heavenly luminaries, were executed in 1516.

It is incontestable that Raphael was strongly influenced by the sight of Angelo's Sistine frescos. He commenced similar works, in fields new to his pencil; and the Prophets and Sibyls, and the decorations of the Chigi chapel, show the effects of this fresh impulse. Several of his drawings from the Sistine frescos are still preserved, and show that he had begun on Angelo's works the same process of analysis and appropriation which he had previously applied to those of Masaccio, Bartolommeo, and Leonardo.

In 1512 John Gorizius of Luxembourg, a friend and patron of the Roman artists, placed a marble group of the Virgin and St. Anna

in the Church of St. Augustine, and ordered Raphael to execute a fresco of the Prophet Isaiah above it. Vasari says that after filling this order, the artist saw Angelo's Sistine frescos, and was so displeased at the weakness of his work that he erased it, and repainted the subject in the grander Angelesque manner. Another tradition says that Gorizius was dissatisfied with the price, and asked Angelo about it, who examined the work, and replied, "The knee alone is worth the price demanded."

Later in 1512, the master painted the portrait of a beautiful and richly attired woman, which is now in the Tribune at Florence. It was long supposed to represent La Fornarina; but later critics demonstrate that it is some other lady; either the admirable Vittoria Colonna or the improvisatrice Beatrice of Ferrara. Another picture of great merit is that of Raphael's friend Bindo Altoviti, a blue-eyed youth of twenty-two, famous for his beauty, and the owner of palaces in Rome and Florence. This is the finest piece of coloring that the master ever accomplished; and Bottari calls it equal to Titian's richest work.

Among the portraits sometimes attributed to

Raphael's Roman period, are those of Cardinal Pucci, now in Scotland; Cardinal Borgia, at the Borghese Palace; Cardinal del Monte, formerly in the Fesch Gallery; Cardinal Passerino, at Naples; and Cardinal Polus, at St. Petersburg. Passavant gives a list of over one hundred and fifty doubtful pictures which have been attributed to the great master, some of which are copies by his pupils, retouched by his own hand, or possibly genuine productions which are without definite authentication. "St. Luke Painting the Virgin," was probably designed and partly executed by Raphael. It is at the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, and shows the kneeling apostle depicting the heavenly vision, with Raphael himself observing his work.

The marvellous variety and noble dignity of his Madonnas appear still further at this time in the Madonna of the Bridgewater (Ellesmere) Gallery, which is famous for its beautiful modelling. "The Madonna with Jesus Standing," in Lady Burdett-Coutts's collection, is now much injured and worn. "The Holy Family of Naples" is a well-preserved specimen of the artist's best work, and is called by the Italians, "La

Madonna del Divino Amore." The design for "The Madonna dell' Impannata," a beautiful domestic scene, which was probably executed by Giulio Romano, dates from this period. It was painted on an order from Bindo Altoviti, for a present to the city of Florence, and is now in the Pitti Palace.

The history of the domestic and private life of Raphael is wrapped in obscurity, or confused with conflicting traditions. There is no doubt that during the early part of his sojourn at Rome, he was passionately in love with a certain fair Margherita, to whom he addressed three graceful sonnets. Vasari says that Raphael remained attached to her until he died. Certain German scholars have maintained that he had an intrigue with a potter's daughter in Urbino, who afterwards dwelt with him at Rome. But Misserini gives the statement of a MS. discovered by the Abbé Cancellieri, that she was the daughter of a baker in Trastevere, famous for her beauty, even in that dwelling-place of physical perfection, so that the youths often watched her from over the wall of her father's garden. There Raphael first saw her, while she was bathing her delicate feet in a

fountain; and when he was made acquainted with her, and found that the perfections of her mind equalled the charms of her person, he became completely infatuated, and henceforth knew peace only in her presence. The name *La Fornarina* refers to the occupation of her father, the baker (*fornajo*), but is of late origin. It should be noticed that Passavant throws doubts on the whole story of Raphael's love-life, and Hare repudiates it utterly.

The gossiping Vasari says that when the master was painting the first floor of the Chigi Palace, he was so much occupied with his inamorata that the work of decoration received but scant attention. Chigi at last began to despair of its accomplishment, and, in order to keep the artist on the scene of his labors, he persuaded the lady to take up her abode in the palace, in rooms near the new paintings. When Raphael was thus accommodated, and could have her all day on the platform by his side, the work went on bravely, and reached a successful termination. The old chronicler adds, quaintly enough, "He was much disposed to the gentler affections, and delighted in the society of women, for whom he

was ever ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers."

In the winter of 1512–13, the master painted the famous "Madonna del Pesce," which Eastlake assigns as the closing work of his second manner, and Viardot ranks as co-equal with the Sistine Madonna, and even as surpassing that masterpiece in the expression of its figures. It represents the ideally lovely Virgin, seated on a throne, and holding the radiant Child, who rests His hand on an open book proffered by St. Jerome. To these approaches Tobit, who is led by an angel, and comes to implore a cure for his father's blindness. The name *del Pesce* (of the Fish) refers to the fish which Tobit carries. Tobit's prayer alludes to the destination of the picture, which was for a famous chapel at Naples, containing the crucifix that once spoke to St. Thomas Aquinas, and resorted to by persons afflicted with diseases of the eyes. Another allusion was to the fact that the Church had recently acknowledged the canonicalness of the apocryphal Book of

Tobit, which St. Jerome translated. The Perugi-nesque devoutness and Raphaelesque grandeur of this picture are illuminated by a clear and vigor-ous coloring. It was forcibly carried to Spain in 1644, and to France in 1813. After being skil-fully transferred from wood to canvas, it was restored to Madrid in 1822.

From 1512 to 1514, Raphael was engaged in the second Vatican hall, *La Stanza di Eliodoro*, which had been frescoed by Francesca and Bra-mantino of Milan. Their paintings contained many portraits of eminent men, and were copied by Raphael's pupils before they were destroyed at the Papal order. The antique decorations in gold and grisaille, forming the frame-works, were left intact; and in order to give his pictures a lighter appearance, the artist imitated stretched canvas. The epic cycle represented in this hall is that of the divine protection and ultimate tri-umph of the Church. The frescos on the ceiling show scenes from the Old Testament, — Jehovah appearing to Noah, Jacob's Vision, Moses at the Burning Bush, and the Sacrifice of Isaac.

" The Miraculous Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem " was the first large

mural painting, and gives its name to the hall. It represents the angels attacking Heliodorus as he was removing the widows' fund from the Temple, at the order of King Seleucus. A great fear falls on the assembled multitude as the robber falls before the lightning-like rush of the golden-armored angels, while his minions fly from the swift celestial vengeance. On one side is an anachronistic group composed of Pope Julius II. and four assistants, two of whom are Giulio Romano and Marc Antonio. This vigorous composition illustrates the principle of God's protection of the Church against its enemies, and the interpolated papal group refers to Julius's expulsion of his enemies from Rome. The picture is full of inimitable expression and dramatic fervor, and shows not only the richness of the new Venetian coloring, but also the freedom of the picturesque school, with its disregard of details and its skilful handling of broad masses of light and shade.

"The Miracle of Bolsena" is the second great fresco, and portrays the tradition that in the year 1264 a Bohemian priest of Bolsena doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation, but was convinced by the miraculous flowing of blood from the

Host while he was celebrating mass. This was the origin of the festival of Corpus Christi. The chief features of this grand picture are the terrified and repentant face of the priest, the agitated surprise and varied gestures of the crowd, and the blazing wrath of Cardinal Riario. Herein also are shown the two great antagonistic forces of the sixteenth century, in the richly arrayed Pope and Cardinals, and a group of honest and phlegmatic Swiss guardsmen below. The deadly battle between Italian priests and German soldiers, which has not yet ceased, was then about to begin.

When Raphael is spoken of as a colorist, the pictures of the Expulsion of Heliodorus and the Mass of Bolsena are usually referred to. They are called the most richly colored frescos in the world, and have been preferred to the best works of Titian or Andrea. The other pictures in this hall illustrate a different *regime*, and are described farther on.

On the 22d of February, 1513, Rome was plunged into profound grief by the death of Pope Julius II. His last words crystallized the grand idea of his long and heroic life, — "Far from Italy all the French, far from Italy all the barbarians."

CHAPTER V.

The Accession of Leo X. — Raphael's Palace and his Friends. — Paintings in 1513–14. — Appointed Architect of St. Peter's. — Maria da Bibiena.

THE wise and courageous Julius II. was succeeded by the brilliant and lavish Leo X., who strove to advance the interests of his family, and to make Rome the literary and artistic capital of Christendom. He had long been famous as a generous patron of letters; and his palace on the Piazza Navona had been the rendezvous of authors. He received the tiara at the age of thirty-nine, on the 19th of March, 1513. Leo was of the very flower of the illustrious Medici family, and exhibited all their refined taste, urbane manners, liberality, and erudition. His extravagant munificence towards the disciples of the higher arts led him to give over one hundred thousand ducats a year in presents; and his table consumed half the revenues of Romagna.

The easy-going epicureanism of this dull-eyed

and thick-lipped Primate was a representative production of the Neo-Pagan Renaissance, in which Latinity was more important than orthodoxy; the immortality of the soul was held as an open question; and sermon-writers substituted the name of Jupiter for Jehovah. The revival of the study of classic art and literature passed into a perfect delirium among all classes. Even the evil traits of the ancients were admired and copied, and the puerilities of the Silver Age were held up for imitation. The study of the Pagan philosophers, which had become the life of Florentine society, was transplanted to Rome; and the Pontiff himself headed the re-action from the dry subtleties of the schoolmen to the enlivening theories of the Neo-Platonists. Prophets and sibyls, apostles and demigods, were given equal rank in the new system, and Olympus and Olivet were confused and united.

Among the chief writers of this barocco age were the graceful Venetian idyllist Navagero and the Latin historian Paulo Giovio, both of whom were born in the same year as Raphael. The Latin language was also used in Vida's epic of the "Christiad," Politian's "Sylvæ" and

"Nutricia," the austere Sadoleto's "Laocoön," Castiglione's elegies, Pantanus's amorous eclogues of Southern Italy, and Canisio's orations. Sannazaro added to his elegies the "Arcadia" and the "Partus Virginis," to which he devoted twenty years. Bembo wrote delicious odes after the manner of Catullus, and amatory songs; and Frascatoro treated didactically of unspeakable themes. This strange literary amalgam soon passed into a condition of unworthy license, so that even Erasmus stigmatized its followers as "apes of Cicero."

If the literature and politics of the day were corrupt and heathen, the vices of society were worse than heathen. The simoniac cardinals vied in lewdness; and the Pope derived amusement from seeing monks tossed in a blanket, and the foot-races of naked men. The treasures of the Church were wasted for banquets, pagan frescos, classic villas, and other vanities. Through this city of luxury and lust wandered the fair-haired pilgrims from Germany and Britain, who had come on religious journeys to the capital of Christendom. With wide eyes they observed, and with grieving hearts they returned to the

North, and prepared Transalpine Europe for the Reformation. Yet different men saw the Papal court in varying lights. Luther called Leo's Rome "the sink of all abominations;" but Erasmus praised the light and freedom of "that radiant city."

Raphael was favorably received by the new Pope, and was retained at his labors in the Vatican. He was already intimate with several of the leaders of the court, and was conformed to the drift of Roman sentiment. Yet, from the nature of his occupations, he was in little danger of being swept into the full current of the general decadence.

In 1513 the well-beloved monk-artist, Fra Bartolommeo, came to Rome, and was bewildered with the grand works of Michael Angelo and his former comrade. He was hospitably received by Raphael, to whom he had long been dear. Bartolommeo began the paintings of St. Peter and St. Paul, which are now in the Quirinal Palace, but, being unfavorably affected by the air of the Campagna, he returned to Florence. While Raphael was finishing his friend's pictures, two cardinals visited the studio, and complained of the redness of

the apostles' faces. To whom Raphael made answer: "You need not be surprised. I have given them that color after much deliberation; for it may well be supposed that the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul must blush as deeply in heaven as in these pictures, on seeing the Church governed by such men as you."

In 1513 Leonardo journeyed from Milan to Rome, with five pupils, and was gladly received by Raphael, who had learned so much from his works; but Michael Angelo showed a marked hostility to the new-comer, and embarrassed him so seriously that he left Rome the next year.

The poet Ariosto was also now in the Eternal City, seeking the patronage of the new Pontiff, and doubtless often met his old friend Raphael. But Leo gave him only smooth words and compliments; and the disappointed poet left the city, never to return.

Raphael tried in vain to bring to Rome his early companions and dear friends Alfani and Ghirlandajo. The latter shared the fanatical patriotism of the Florentines to such an extent that he could not be persuaded to go beyond sight of the cathedral-dome; and Alfani was now hampered by family cares.

Albert Dürer, the famous artist of Nuremberg, was for many years a correspondent of Raphael, whom he resembled in personal beauty, amiability, versatility, and strong imagination. They exchanged several drawings, Dürer sending a number of sketches, with a portrait of himself ingeniously done in water-colors on linen; while Raphael returned a red-crayon study of naked men, and other drawings.

The great master was now not only renowned and honored, but also wealthy; and he erected for himself a small palace, facing the Square of St. Peter's. He drew the plans, and Bramante supervised their execution, which was finished in 1514. The ground floor was of rustic architecture, with five entrances; the main floor was Doric, and the entablature severely antique; while the façade was adorned with a line of papal portraits. Landon gives thirty-two plates from a set of pictures illustrating Apuleius's fable of Cupid and Psyche, with which he was said to have adorned the palace. Some of these subjects are very voluptuous, and Passavant declines to accept them as the conceptions of Raphael.

The amiability and sweetness of the artist's

character secured him many warm friends, besides the admirers who were drawn to the light of his genius. Among these were the learned and benevolent Count Castiglione, the envoy of Urbino, for whom he painted two portraits, showing a refined face with blue eyes and a manly beard. Another was Pietro Bembo, the Papal secretary, who restored the careful finish of Italian literature, but was less scrupulous in private life. To this circle of comrades belonged Andrea Navagero, the Venetian historian, and the poet Beazzano, both of whom were portrayed on one picture by Raphael, of which a good copy remains in the Doria Palace. Sannazaro, the Neapolitan poet, was a member of the coterie; and also Tebaldeo, the Ferrarese poet. The master made a portrait of the latter in 1516, of which Bembo wrote to Cardinal Bibiena: "Raphael has just painted our friend Tebaldeo with so much truth that he himself does not more resemble himself than this painting resembles him." Other intimates of this group were Baldassare Turini, President of the Chancery; and Branconio dall' Aquila, for whom Raphael painted "The Visitation," and made plans for a palace opposite

St. Peter's. One of his chief protectors was the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Archbishop of Florence, a serious and earnest prelate, who afterwards became Pope Clement VII. For him the master painted "The Transfiguration," and designed the Villa Madama, on Monte Mario. Among the other cardinals, Bibiena and Riario were the best patrons of the artist.

The friendship and mutual assistance of Raphael and Bramante remained unbroken. The latter wrote and presented to his illustrious *protégé* a treatise on the proportions of men and horses; and, at a later day, caused him to choose which of the competing wax-models of the Laocoön was worthiest of perpetuation in bronze.

The frescos of the Hall of Heliodorus were left half-done at the death of Julius II., and were finished during the first two years of Leo's reign. The third in the succession of these great mural paintings was "Attila Repulsed from Rome by Pope Leo I.," illustrating the legend that when Attila was leading the Huns against Rome, in the year 452, St. Leo rode forth to meet him, warning him to beware of the fate of Alaric, who had offended St. Peter by plundering his holy

city. At this juncture St. Peter and St. Paul appeared in the clouds, waving flaming swords, which so terrified the barbarian King that he hastily concluded a peace, and led his army out of Italy. In the centre of the picture the fear-stricken Attila is seen, riding a fiery black horse, while his savage hordes are filled with dismay, the trumpets are sounding retreat, and the armor-clad horses are neighing in terror, with the brilliant apparitions above, and a wild hurricane raging on the plain. To this scene of panic and confusion, approaches the calm and dignified St. Leo, riding on a white mule, and surrounded by plump cardinals and prelates. This is one of the best frescos of the master, both in richness of color, accuracy of drawing, picturesque grouping, and powerful execution. Leo X. had his own portrait painted for the victorious Pope, in allusion to the recent expulsion of the French from Italy, when the troops of the league formed by Rome, Henry VIII. of England, Maximilian of Austria, and Ferdinand of Spain, defeated the armies of France in several battles; and Colonna destroyed their Venetian allies at the battle of Vicenza.

The last of the Heliodorus frescos was "The Deliverance of St. Peter," which is in three sections. The first shows the aged saint in prison, sleeping between two mediæval men-at-arms, with a shining angel appearing to free him; in the second the angel leads the awe-stricken Peter through the slumbering guards; and in the third the alarmed soldiers are awaking. The two first are lit up by the resplendent angel, and the third by a torch and the young moon, giving a novel and effective variety of lights reflected from armor and relieved by deep shadows, which excited great praise in Italy. The covert allusion of this fresco was to the wonderful escape of the new Pope, when he was taken prisoner by the French army at the battle of Ravenna.

The Church of Santa Maria della Pace was erected in 1484, in memory of the efforts of Pope Sixtus IV. to restore peace to Christendom. Here, at Chigi's order, Raphael ornamented a chapel with the Sibyls and Prophets, which Burckhardt claims as "the best calculated among all his frescos to attract the admiration of the spectator." The mysterious prophetesses of antiquity, the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and

Tiburtine Sibyls, are here depicted with a gentleness and grace which contrast finely with the grandeur of Angelo's Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel. The Prophets, Daniel and David, Hosea and Jonah, are of inferior merit, and were probably painted by Timoteo della Vite, from the cartoons of the master. Cinelli relates that after Raphael had secured an advance of a hundred scudi for this commission, he made a further demand of Giulio Borghese, Chigi's cashier. But the dry and practical man of business demurred, supposing that a sufficient compensation had already been made. The artist then demanded that the work should be appraised by an expert; and Borghese invited Michael Angelo, supposing that his jealousy would lead him to depreciate it. As the great Florentine was contemplating the fresco in silence, Borghese questioned him, and he replied, "That head alone is worth a hundred scudi, and the others are not worth less." When Chigi heard of this scene, he ordered the cashier to pay a hundred scudi for each of the remaining heads, saying, "Go and give that to Raphael in payment for his heads, and behave very politely to him, so that he may be satisfied; for if he insists

on my paying also for the drapery, we shall probably be ruined."

The fresco of "Galatea" was executed in 1514, in a hall of the Chigi Palace, and is a very beautiful work. It represents the fair and undraped goddess gently sailing in a conch-shell, guided by Love and drawn by dolphins, with tritons and centaurs bearing the nymphs, and flying Cupids shooting arrows into the throng. In a letter to Castiglione, Raphael says, "To paint a figure truly beautiful, I should see many beautiful forms. But good judges and beautiful women being rare, I avail myself of certain ideas which come into my mind."

In 1513 the master painted an interesting portrait of the portly librarian, Phædra Inghirami of Volterra, "the Florentine Cicero," a *protégé* of the Medici, and then bearing the titles of Count Palatine and Bishop of Ragusa. During the year 1514, the master executed the pictures of Giuliano de' Medici, both of which are now lost, leaving only copies to attest their former existence. The portrait of Cardinal Bibiena shows a middle-aged, thin-visaged ecclesiastic, with bright black eyes and an Italian physiog-

nomy. The Cardinal bequeathed it to Count Castiglione, the ambassador to Spain, and it is now in Madrid. The picture of Castiglione which is now at the Louvre is one of the master's best works in portraiture, and represents a strong and pleasing face.

In 1513 a noble lady of Bologna heard celestial voices commanding her to erect a chapel in honor of St. Cecilia. She built the shrine at the Church of San Giovanni in Monte; and her kinsman, Cardinal de' Santi Quattro, ordered Raphael to paint an altar-piece for it. The picture represented St. Cecilia, and was displayed in the chapel in 1517, awakening the liveliest enthusiasm in Bologna. It was consigned to the artist's old friend Francia, who was requested to correct or repair it, if necessary; but tradition says that he died at sight of it, being heart-broken at the thought of his own hopeless inferiority. The holy Cecilia is richly clad in cloth of gold, and stands foremost among the grand figures of St. Paul and St. John, St. Augustine, and St. Mary Magdalene. She is looking upward, with a face filled with ineffable ecstasy, and listening to the harmonies of the angels in the heavenly city. Nagler says, "It

is full of calm devotion, like the solemn long-drawn tones of old church melodies;" and Goethe adds, "There are five saints there side by side, who in no wise concern us, but whose existence is so perfect that we wish the picture could continue forever, until we also are ready for departure."

"The Vision of Ezekiel" was painted about the same time, for a gentleman of Bologna, and is now in the Pitti Palace. It is a representation of Jehovah, seated in an intensely brilliant glory, surrounded by cherubim. A picture of "The Nativity" was executed during the year, and sent to the Count Canossa, at Verona, who refused great sums for it; but all traces of this work are now lost.

Early in 1514, Raphael was admitted into the Fraternitas Corporis Christi, a rigid ecclesiastical society of the most high-church Catholicity, devoted to an especially scrupulous participation in the Eucharistic sacrament. From this fact, it is justly inferred that he was an earnest believer in the doctrines and ceremonials of the Catholic Church, and that his Madonnas were tributes of spiritual love, as well as triumphs of artistic skill.

In March, 1514, Bramante, being about to die, recommended the Pope to appoint Raphael as his successor in the office of Papal architect. The Papal nomination was couched in the most flattering terms, saying: "To Raphael of Urbino: Besides the art of painting, in which you are universally known to excel, you were, by the architect Bramante, equally esteemed for your knowledge in that profession; so that, when dying, he justly considered that to you might be intrusted the construction of that temple which by him was begun at Rome to the Prince of the Apostles; and you have learnedly confirmed that opinion, by the plan of the temple requested of you. . . . Let your efforts correspond to our hope in you, to our paternal benevolence towards you, and lastly to the dignity and fame of that temple, even the greatest in the whole world and most holy; and to our devotion for the Prince of the Apostles."

His deep interest in the new work appears in his letter to Castiglione: "Our Holy Father has laid a great burden on my shoulders, in giving me the superintendency of the building of St. Peter's. I hope, indeed, that I shall not sink

under it. . . . I would fain revive the beautiful forms of the buildings of antiquity, but I know not whether the fate of Icarus is before me." Yet Raphael's share in the construction of the great Basilica was unimportant, on account of the diversion of the funds intended therefor to the expenses of the war with Urbino, and the costly splendors of the Papal court. His only service was to strengthen the four columns on which the dome was intended to rest, by enlarging their slender foundations with a series of piers and arches.

In 1514 he restored and gave a new portico to the venerable Church of Santa Maria della Navicella, on the Cœlian Hill. He also completed the Loggie in the Court of San Damaso, at the Vatican, which is one of the most beautiful palace-courts ever constructed. He designed the rich palace of Branconio dall' Aquila, and several other houses in the Borgo San Pietro; the Casa de' Berti, a hewn-stone structure in the Borgo Nuovo; the Villa Madama; and the still beautiful Palazzo Vidoni. His buildings were among the finest of the century, showing a notable richness and picturesqueness, while at the same time ap-

preciating the effect of grand masses and harmonious arrangement. The master devoted much time to the study of the treatise on architecture which Vitruvius, the imperial superintendent of buildings, wrote at the request of Augustus Cæsar. He had a translation of this book made into Italian by the venerable scholar Marco Fabio Calvio of Ravenna, who was kept tenderly and generously in his palace until his death.

At a later day Raphael secured the publication of a Papal brief commanding the citizens of Rome and its environs for ten miles out to submit to his inspection all the hewn stone and marble which should be discovered in that district. This order accomplished the double end of providing a great quantity of stone for the works on St. Peter's, and of saving from destruction many curious antiques. In point of fact, he performed the duties of a director of antiquities.

It was probably about this time that Raphael turned his attention to sculpture, in which he attained some success, having executed the fine statue of Jonah for the Chigi chapel, and modelled the statue of Elias for the same place. He also designed a group of a wounded child borne

by a dolphin through the waves, which was put into marble by Lorenzetto under his supervision. The original is lost, but the plaster model is at Munich, and a handsome copy in marble is at Down Hill, in Ireland. Certain ancient writers have stated that the master at one time devoted himself to the decoration of maiolica and porcelain, but there is now no authentic proof of this statement.

In July, 1514, Raphael wrote the following letter, which illustrates his position and prospects: "To my uncle, dear to me as a father, Simone di Battista di Ciarla da Urbino . . . I have already property at Rome to the value of three thousand ducats of gold, and an income of fifty ducats. Then His Holiness, our Lord, has proposed to me some works in the Church of St. Peter, with a salary of three hundred ducats of gold, which will not fail me as long as I live. This is not all. Besides this, they will pay me for my work whatever may seem right to me. The paintings also in another hall that I have undertaken will produce twelve hundred ducats of gold. Thus, my dear uncle, I am doing honor to you, as well as to my other relations, and to

my native town. I bear you continually in my heart, and when I hear you mentioned it seems as if I heard my father named. . . .

"I had left off speaking of my marriage, but return to it, to tell you that the Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico [Bibiena] wishes to give me one of his relations, and that with the consent of my uncle the priest, and your consent, I have placed myself at the disposal of his Lordship. I cannot withdraw my word; we are nearer than ever to the conclusion. . . . As to my sojourn at Rome, I cannot, for the love of the works at St. Peter's, remain long elsewhere, for I have at present the place of Bramante. And what city in the world is worthier than Rome, and what enterprise greater than St. Peter's, the first temple in the world? It is the greatest building ever seen, and will cost more than a million of gold. The Pope has granted sixty thousand ducats a year for the works, and he thinks of nothing else. He has given me as a colleague a very learned father, of at least eighty years of age, and who has not long to live. His Holiness gave me this man of great reputation and great learning for a colleague, that I might profit by him, and, if he has

a noble secret in architecture, that I might learn it also, and thus attain perfection in the art. His name is Fra Giocondo. The Pope sends for us every day, and speaks to us for some time about the works."

The lady to whom Raphael alluded in this letter was Maria da Bibiena, daughter of the nephew of Cardinal Bibiena; and it has frequently been intimated that the young man was reluctant to consummate the marriage. Some say that his assent was won by the influence of the Cardinal, and without consulting the dictates of his heart. But in point of fact the rich artist was in a position to help the prelate, rather than to be benefited by him. The humble and submissive tone in which he speaks of the engagement was characteristic of his time and country, where marriages were usually arranged by the elders, and the candidates for the union adapted themselves to the situation. It is certain that this engagement was formally renewed in 1515, and that it was in force at least as late as 1517. It has been suggested that Raphael was waiting to fix his fortunes on a sure foundation before marrying a patrician lady. Another theory, and

perhaps the most probable, is that Maria was of a very delicate constitution, and that the delays were made in her favor. The absurd Vasari claims that the postponements of the nuptials arose from the artist's hope of being made a cardinal, in recompense for the money which the Pope owed him. The death of the Lady Maria occurred before that of the master, and put a short end to all their hopes and plans.

CHAPTER VI.

The Vatican Decorations. — The Stanza dell' Incendio. — The Loggie and the Tapestries. — Architectural Works and Drawings. — Raphael's Pupils.

THE Apostolic Palace of the Vatican was in those days the most splendid palace in the world, as it is still the largest. The genius of Bramante had given it an expression of architectural unity by uniting its scattered sections; and the Popes had been enriching its surroundings for over a century with decorations by the leading artists of Italy. When the gold-work was undimmed, the colors unfaded, the marbles fresh, and the stuccos in their pure whiteness, these great halls must have appeared like the courts of Paradise. It is too often forgotten by visitors at Rome, that the vicissitudes of three hundred years have wrought sad damage to many of these paintings; and hence a feeling of disappointment often rises when the pilgrim stands before the stained and faded remnants of the

art of the sixteenth century. Sir Joshua Reynolds confesses that he felt deeply humiliated because of his inability to appreciate Raphael's Vatican frescos at first sight. But he was consoled on being assured by artist-friends and by the officers of the palace, that this feeling of disappointment was almost always felt at first, even by men of cultivation and connoisseurs in art. He relates how he studied and copied the frescos, and forced himself to affect an admiration for them, until at last he had come to understand and venerate these high excellences of art. He thereupon naturally concludes that a relish for the best style of paintings, as well as for poetry or music, is an acquired taste, demanding time, attention, and hard work. It will be remembered that even Taine opened a rattling fire of persiflage on Raphael's works at the Vatican, during his first visit; but after longer study he grew interested and then fascinated, and ended by echoing old Vasari's most high-flown panegyrics on the painter of Urbino.

The Loggie of the Vatican consist of a series of open arcaded galleries, three stories high, which were erected by Bramante and Raphael

around th ree sides of the Court of San Damaso. The celebrated frescos called "Raphael's Bible" were executed for the decoration of the middle story, which formed the passage to the papal apartments, and commands an exquisite view over the colonnade of St. Peter's, the Leonine City, and out to the blue Sabine Mountains. There are thirteen arcades, each of which contains four pictures, whereof forty-eight are drawn from the Old Testament, and four from the life of Christ. The city was filled with admiration during the progress of this grandly conceived work, which was destined to attest to subsequent generations the glory of the golden age of art. The depth of poetic imagination displayed in this illuminated epic of the Church is combined with a rich and charming fancy and a sustained strength of execution.

The Loggie were painted in 1514–16. Raphael made the sepia sketches for the pictures, which were executed by Giulio Romano, Penni, Vaga, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and others of his best pupils. In order to enrich the cloister to the highest degree, the master brought to Rome the Florentine engraver of gems, Giovanni Barile,

who carved all the woodwork; the younger Luca della Robbia, who paved the floor with colored and enamelled earthen tiles, imitating a carpet which bore the Papal arms; and other skilful artificers. Even Vasari said of the completed decorations, "It is impossible to execute or to conceive a more exquisite work."

The subjects of the frescos are as follows: First Arcade, Separation of Light from Darkness, God creating the Dry Land, Creation of the Sun and Moon, Creation of the Animals. Second Arcade, Creation of Adam and Eve, the Fall, Exile from Eden, Adam and Eve at Work. Third Arcade, Noah building the Ark, the Deluge, Egress from the Ark, Noah's Sacrifice. Fourth Arcade, Abraham and Melchizedek, God's Covenant with Abraham, Abraham and the Three Angels, Lot's Flight from Sodom. Fifth Arcade, God appearing to Isaac, Isaac embracing Rebecca, Isaac blessing Jacob, Esau claiming his Birthright. Sixth Arcade, Jacob's Ladder, Jacob and Rachel at the Well, Jacob asking Laban for Rachel, Jacob returning to Canaan. Seventh Arcade, Joseph telling his Dream, Joseph is sold, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, Joseph interprets Pharaoh's Dream.

Eighth Arcade, Finding of Moses, the Burning Bush, Passage of the Red Sea, Moses smiting the Rock. Ninth Arcade, Moses receiving the Decalogue, Adoration of the Golden Calf, Moses kneeling before the Pillar of Cloud, Moses giving the Law to the People. Tenth Arcade, the Crossing of the Jordan, the Fall of Jericho, Joshua bidding the Sun to stand still, the Division of Palestine. Eleventh Arcade, Samuel anointing David as King, David and Goliath, David conquers the Syrians, David sees Bathsheba. Twelfth Arcade, Consecration of Solomon, Solomon's Judgment, the Queen of Sheba, Building of the Temple. Thirteenth Arcade, Adoration of the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, the Last Supper. It was Raphael's design to have frescoed the other arcades on this story with scenes from the New Testament and the lives of the saints; but his premature death prevented its achievement.

The Loggie are also ornamented with quaint grotesques and bas-reliefs in stucco, executed by Giovanni da Udine, who had been a pupil of the Venetian Giorgione, and excelled in depicting animals and birds, flowers and fruits. He was a

favorite disciple of Raphael, with whom he made several artistic excursions. It is related that they once explored together the newly discovered Baths of Titus, and were surprised at the freshness and beauty of the antique stucco ornaments found among the ruins. Giovanni analyzed this material, and formed a composition of marble, travertine, and chalk, which presented the same appearance. Working the new compound into skilful designs, he produced ornaments equal to the antique; and proceeded, under the master's superintendence, to decorate the Loggie with them.

La Stanza dell' Incendio was the third of the halls which Raphael frescoed in the Vatican. The work was begun in 1514, and finished in 1517. The theme for celebration in this series was the era of the glory of the Papacy, and its victories over all adversaries. By a remarkable coincidence, during the very years when this proud record was being emblazoned on the walls of the Vatican, the transalpine nations were seething with discontent, the flames of the Reformation were beginning to crackle, and the Roman hierarchy was hurrying towards the most

fearful catastrophes in its history. The secession of the northern kingdoms from the spiritual control of the Pope, and the sack and destruction of the Eternal City by the imperial army, occurred within ten years. Martin Luther was born in the same year as Raphael, and visited Rome at nearly the same time. In 1517, while the Italian artist was closing his illustrations of the victories of the Pontiffs, the Saxon monk nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of Wittenberg church, and led the exodus of the Gothic nations from the Roman Church.

The first fresco in the Stanza dell' Incendio is "The Oath of Leo III.," which was designed by Raphael, and painted by Perino della Vaga. It portrays the marvellous scene in St. Peter's Church, in the year 800, at the trial of the Pope by the Emperor Charlemagne on charges preferred by the nephews of Pope Adrian, when the solemn conclave was startled by a supernatural voice proclaiming that no mortal could be allowed to judge the Pontiff. The second fresco is "The Coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III.," and alludes also to the recent alliance between King Francis I. and Pope Leo X., whose portraits are

seen in the faces of the two principal personages of the picture.

"The Burning of the Borgo" is the third in the series, and delineates the great conflagration which swept the Saxon and Lombard quarter of Rome in 847, aided by a wild hurricane, until Pope Leo IV. arrested its further advance by his prayers. The genius of the master is shown here in its full strength, in the groups of fugitives, the flying women, and the falling buildings. Here also he boldly enters into rivalry with Michael Angelo in portraying nude forms of both sexes, in powerful attitudes. There are more undraped figures here than in any of his other pictures. The allusion is to the devouring flames of war which menaced Italy in 1515, after Francis I. had defeated the Swiss allies of Milan at Marignano, slaying fifteen thousand of their soldiers. The diplomacy of Leo X. then saved the peninsula from further invasion.

"The Victory of Leo IV. over the Saracens at Ostia" shows the Italian fleet destroying the invading Moslem squadron in the port of Rome. The Pope, with the features of Leo X., is on the shore, engaged in prayer, and is attended by Car-

dinals de' Medici and Bibiena. In the foreground a terrific naval battle is going on, in the midst of a tempest which God had sent to scourge the hostile armada. This is an emblematic representation of the danger of Europe from the Sultan Selim, the Ferocious, who had conquered Persia, Turkestan, Armenia, and Egypt, and ravaged the Italian coasts with his cruisers.

The cartoons for the ten tapestries were executed by the master in 1515–16. These rare productions of the artist's brain and the weaver's loom were to be used in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel on high festivals, according to a plan originated by Raphael and approved by the Pope. The early Florentine artists had adorned the chapel with subjects from the life of Moses, to which Michael Angelo had added his wonderful pictures of the prophets and sibyls, and the history of the human race. The new works continued the series by a pictorial history of the Apostles; and Angelo at a later day finished it by his terrific "Last Judgment."

The first tapestry is "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes," showing the majestic Saviour seated in a fishing-boat, in a beautiful lake and landscape

scene, while He says to the prostrate and humiliated Peter, "Fear not: from henceforth thou art a fisher of men." The second is "Christ's Charge to Peter," with the white-robed Lord pointing with one hand to the kneeling Peter, and with the other to a flock of sheep. Back of Peter are the other Apostles, with a town in the distance, and a cove of the Lake of Gennesaret on the left. The third is "The Martyrdom of St. Stephen," showing the false witnesses hurling stones at the kneeling saint, who with ecstatic upward gaze cries out, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." The fourth is "The Healing of the Paralytic," where St. Peter and St. Paul are entering the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, between twisted columns of amazing richness, and Peter says to the blind beggar, "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk." The fifth is "The Death of Ananias," with the false and abject Ananias expiring under the judgment invoked by the tranquil and austere St. Peter. The sixth is "The Conversion of St. Paul," representing Saul the persecutor prostrate before the heavenly vision, while his companions are fleeing in terror. "Elymas Struck with Blind-

ness" shows the hostile Cretan magician, tottering in the total darkness which has been brought upon him by the denunciation of St. Paul, while the enthroned proconsul, Sergius Paulus, gazes in astonishment upon the dramatic scene. "Paul and Barnabas at Lystra" illustrates the wrath and sorrow of the miracle-working disciples, when the grateful Lystrans were about to offer sacrifices to them as Jupiter and Mercury. In "St. Paul Preaching at Athens," the inspired Apostle is seen standing on the steps of the Areopagus, and addressing groups of attentive and curious philosophers. The splendid Greek architecture in the last two pictures is accurately drawn, and indicates the artist's familiarity with the antique. "St. Paul in Prison" shows the Apostle praying in his cell, while the walls are shaken by an earthquake. "The Coronation of the Virgin" was a representation of Christ on His throne, crowning the Madonna, with the Father and the Holy Spirit in a glory above, and St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist below. This was the closing canto of the great illuminated song of the Church, manifesting the glorification of the Holy Trinity, and the resplendent honor of the Mother of God.

In these tapestries the master showed how well he apprehended the radical ideas of early Christian history, and how carefully he adhered to the facts of the Apostolic annals, without interpolating arbitrary accessories. They are marked by true and devout expression, a close following of traditional types, and an ennobling harmony of arrangement. Quatremère de Quincy calls them "the climax, not only of the productions of Raphael, but of all those of modern genius in painting."

The superintendence of the weaving was given by the master to his Flemish pupils, Bernard van Orley and Michael Coxcie. They were despatched to Arras, in Flanders, where the looms were established. The completed tapestries weighed four hundred and fifty pounds each, and were skilfully and richly wrought in wool, silk, and gold. They were exhibited in the Sistine Chapel in 1519, amid the enthusiasm of the people, but were seized and carried away to Lyons eight years later, when Charles V. reduced Rome. The Constable de Montmorenci sold them to Pope Julius III. in 1555. During the French invasion of 1798 the set was stolen again,

and sold to certain Jews, who proposed to burn them for the sake of the gold, but were unsuccessful in their first attempt, and disposed of the remaining pieces to some Genoese merchants. Pope Pius VII. bought them in 1808, and replaced them in the Vatican. There they are now preserved, in one of the large upper halls, much soiled and faded, and otherwise injured on account of the deterioration of the non-mineral colors.

The cartoons or models for the tapestries were paintings in distemper, filled in on chalk sketches on strong paper. They were twelve feet high by from fourteen to eighteen feet long, with figures above life-size. Seven of these are now sacredly preserved in the South-Kensington Museum. They were bought at Arras, in the strips into which they had been cut by the weavers, by King Charles I., on the recommendation of Rubens. During the English Revolution Cromwell purchased them for the nation, giving $1,500 for the set, at the auction of the property of the executed king. William III. had them affixed to canvas and hung in a hall erected for the purpose by Sir Christopher Wren, at Hampton-

Court Palace. These seven cartoons represent the stories of the Miraculous Draught, the Charge to Peter, the Paralytic, Ananias, Elymas, and St. Paul at Lystra and at Athens. They are preferred by some English connoisseurs to any other of Raphael's works, as showing ease, simplicity, and grandeur of thought, unhampered by the mechanism of elaborate painting. They are yearly studied and admired by many thousands of people, and have frequently been copied in engravings.

A duplicate set of these tapestries was made at Arras, and presented to Henry VIII. of England by the Venetian Republic. After the execution of Charles I. it was taken to Spain by the Duke of Alva, but returned to London some decades since, where it was purchased by the King of Prussia for the Berlin Museum. Another set was presented by Leo X. to the Elector of Saxony, and six of its pieces now hang in the rotunda of the Royal Gallery at Dresden. Another set was bequeathed to the King of France by Cardinal Mazarin, and was seen at Strasbourg in 1770 by Goethe. Still another was kept in the Church of Santa Barbara, at Mantua,

until 1783, and has recently been carried to Vienna.

It is said that Raphael also designed ten rich tapestries from scenes in the Old Testament, which were presented to Chartres Cathedral by Bishop de Thon; but these have disappeared.

The master executed several smaller frescos during 1515 and the early part of 1516. He prepared the design for "The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia," which was painted either by himself or one of his best pupils in the chapel of the Pope's hunting castle, La Magliana. In 1830 this work was ruined by an act of Vandalism on the part of the farmer Vitelli, who wished to attend service in the chapel without coming in contact with the peasantry, and cut a gallery through the centre of the picture. The remains of the fresco are now at the Louvre.

"The Marriage of Roxana" is a fresco representing the magnificent Roxana, sitting on the edge of a bed, with Alexander approaching and about to crown her. Ephestion and Hymen are behind, and Cupids carry away Roxana's veil and slippers, and play with the weapons and armor of the hero. This picture was painted in the

building in the Borghese Park which was afterwards called the Villa Raphael. In 1845 it was fortunately removed to the Borghese Palace, for the Villa Raphael was destroyed in the revolution of 1848.

In the winter of 1515–16 Leo X. visited Florence, intending to erect a splendid façade on the Church of San Lorenzo. He summoned the chief architects of Italy to compete on the plans; but Michael Angelo afterwards refused to allow their participation, and secured the work himself. The Pope required that only Tuscan marble should be employed, and before the roads could be built to the remote quarries, the church-funds were exhausted, and the façade was never erected. During the competition, Raphael visited Florence, and submitted a rich and picturesque design. While he sojourned in the Tuscan capital he executed the plans for two of its most symmetrical palaces, one of which was for Pandolfini, Bishop of Troy, and the other was for the Uguccioni family. The first is seventy feet wide, with Tuscan columns on the lower floor and Ionic columns above, an admirable classical entablature, and a beautiful triple arcade open-

ing on the inner gardens. The Palazzo Uguccioni is on the Grand-Ducal Square, and is of rustic architecture below and Ionic and Corinthian above, combining richness and simplicity.

About this time, at the order of Leo X., he made careful drawings, with measurements and descriptions, of the buildings of ancient Rome which then remained. Of this work Michiel said that whoever inspected it might be said to have seen the city of the Cæsars, so correctly were the forms, proportions, and ornaments depicted. Many of the buildings therein delineated have since been destroyed, and the drawings of Raphael have not been seen since the sack of the city in 1527.

After returning to Rome, in April, 1516, the master was overburdened with orders, and was compelled to decline some, and permanently postpone the completion of several promised works. All the time which he could spare from his great works was cheerfully given to his pupils and friends. The fecund genius of the great artist was not exhausted by the multiplicity of his works; and he made hundreds of sketches and drawings in pen, pencil, crayon, sepia, and

bistre, treating widely varying subjects with the sprightly play of his fancy, or the deeper seriousness of close study. The minute care with which his works were planned is shown by the many sketches made for each. Some of his drawings were given as mementos to friends, and others as models to pupils, and are now preserved in the galleries of Europe. The engravings of Marc Antonio have retained the forms of others, in some cases retouched on the plate by the master's own hand. His designs were scattered broadcast over the Continent by the labors of the industrious engravers, to the great increase of Raphael's fame. Among the chief collections of his original drawings may be mentioned that in the Uffizi at Florence, with over 40 specimens; and 100 in the Venetian Academy. France has 36 in the Louvre, and 42 in the Wicar Gallery at Lille. Germany has 150 in the Albertina at Vienna, 10 at Berlin, and 10 at Frankfort. England has 20 in the Royal Collection, 14 in the National Gallery, and about 50 in the palaces of her nobles. The University Galleries at Oxford contain about 140 original drawings. Among the most famous collections was that of

Sir Thomas Lawrence, which contained 160 drawings of Raphael, valued at $75,000.

Raphael's devotion to his pupils was one of the most beautiful features of his character, and resembled the warm interest of an elder brother. They were not only inspired by his genius, and indoctrinated in his methods of study and thought, but were furnished with frequent opportunities for honorable independent work. The wonderful productions of the master, and his inexhaustible imagination, aided and stimulated them to emulate the careful observation, close attention, and minuteness in details, which had rendered him capable of such rapid and well-sustained work. One of these disciples asked him how he had been able to produce so many pictures in so short a time; and he replied, "From my earliest childhood I have made it a principle never to neglect any thing." No other master has ever been able to control and influence so great a number of talented men, even such as might have aspired to become his rivals, but were content to be his pupils and friends. The proverbial jealousies of artists were unknown among the dwellers in his studio, their only em

ulation being to increase his advantage, and to heighten the glories of the school of Raphael. Vasari attributed this peculiar power of the master to his exquisite courtesy and willingness to accommodate; traits which were soon reflected among the pupils, and became the prevailing law of the studio.

The Roman school was thus formed, with its foundation on the ideal and the classic; and its main attributes may be stated as judiciousness of invention, chasteness of composition, and quietness of coloring. It gave great promise of future achievements; and Lanzi, the learned historian of art in Italy, says that "if Raphael's maxims had remained unaltered, Italian painting would probably have flourished for as long a period as Greek sculpture." The destruction of the school came all too swiftly, when its members were scattered in distant cities by the untoward events at Rome, and deprived by isolation of the advantages of joint study and advancement. The causes of the dispersion were the accession to the Papacy in 1520, of the austere and iconoclastic German, Adrian VI.; the desolation of the pestilence, in 1522; and the sack of Rome, in 1527, after

which the ruined and desecrated city lay for years in a profound stupor.

Among the leaders of the school which Raphael founded with such earnest care were Giulio Romano, a noble designer and poor painter; Gianfrancesco Penni of Florence, called Il Fattore, most of whose works have disappeared; Timoteo della Vite, a rich and delicate colorist; Perino della Vaga, who excelled in designing; and Giovanni da Udine, whose pictures of birds and flowers, arabesques and ornaments, are truly exquisite. These five were the favorite assistants of the master, and painted many pictures from his drawings, and in concert with him. Among the other artists of this school were Polidoro da Caravaggio, Pellegrino da Modena, Bagnacavallo, Biagio Pupini, Gaudenzio Ferrari, San Gimignano, and Il Garofalo.

CHAPTER VII.

Raphael's Paintings in 1516, 1517, and 1518. — The Madonnas at Florence. — The Sistine Madonna. — The Chigi Frescos.

In the year 1516 the master finished the Loggie and the Sistine tapestries, and continued the decoration of the Stanza dell' Incendio. He received at this time new honors from the Pope, and an enlargement of his authority in regard to the public buildings of Rome and its antiquities. The details of his personal history and private life at this important period of three years are of the most meagre and unsatisfactory description, and leave us to infer that his time was devoted to studio-work, secluded from the world of events.

In the spring of 1516 he made a series of sketches for his warm friend and would-be kinsman, Cardinal Bibiena, who then inhabited the third floor of the Vatican. They were for the decoration of his bath-room, and the order stated that they should represent the omnipotence of Love in Nature. The first sketch was "The

Birth of Venus," showing the fair Aphrodite rising from the foam of the sea, radiant with life and beauty. The next represents Venus and Cupid seated on dolphins, and riding through the wide sea. Then she appears resting under a tree, and pressing her hand upon a wound in her breast inflicted by Cupid, who reclines near her in easy unconcern. Again, she is seen drawing a thorn from her right foot, while the blood flowing from the wound stains the white rose to a perennial redness. The room was decorated in the antique style, with seven frescos painted on a reddish-brown ground, in grotesque frames, below which were seven victorious Cupids. The extraordinary character of these ornaments in the apartments of a prince of the Church, at the central shrine of Christendom, is feebly explained by Passavant by a reference to the passion of the court of Rome at that time for the antique and classical. The bath-room pictures met with a great and immediate success, and were frequently copied and engraved. They are now nearly obliterated.

Three famous Madonnas date from 1516. "The Madonna della Sedia" is now in the Pitti

Palace, and is one of the best-beloved works of Raphael. It represents the Virgin seated in a chair (*sedia*), with graceful striped drapery on her head, encircling the Holy Child with both arms, and bending a face of indescribable sweetness against His beautiful head. The infant St. John is below, in adoration. The shape of the work is round; and it is eminent for clear and luminous color and skilful chiaroscuro. The religious idea is here overflowed by a boundless wealth of maternal love and filial affection; and, in this aspect, it is one of the most fascinating achievements of art. Copies and engravings have been distributed in myriads throughout the world.

"The Madonna della Tenda" is somewhat similar to the picture previously described, and derives its name from a curtain (*tenda*) in the background, before which the sweet and saintly Virgin sits, holding the Divine Child, with the adoring St. John below. It was bought by King Louis of Bavaria for $25,000, and is now in the Munich Pinakothek. "The Madonna with the Candelabra" passed from the Borghese Gallery to that of Lucien Bonaparte, thence to the Duke of Lucca, and thence to London. The face of

the Virgin is filled with noble dignity and majestic calm, and her eyes are cast down in modest humility. It is after describing this work that Gruyer repels the oft-repeated charge that Raphael's Roman Madonnas are pagan, as compared with those of Florence and Umbria.

In the year 1517, Raphael concluded his works in the Stanza dell' Incendio, and enjoyed a respite from the arduous tasks of the Apostolic Palace. During the twelvemonth he executed several easel-pictures.

"Christ Bearing his Cross" is called "*El Extremo Dolor*" by the Spaniards, in allusion to the last agony of the Saviour, and "*Lo Spasimo*" by the Italians, after the church for which it was painted. It represents the Redeemer sinking under the weight of the cross, amid a crowd of Roman soldiers; while He turns to the women who follow after, and says, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me; but weep for yourselves and for your children." The picture is a masterpiece, perfect in arrangement, strong in dramatic unity, filled with life and energy, and pathetic in the display of divine majesty blent with human agony in the face of the Saviour. This was the

only representation of the Passion which Raphael made during his maturer years, and was entirely executed by his own hand. According to some critics, it is equalled only by "The Transfiguration." It was painted for the Sicilian convent-church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo, and was despatched to Palermo by sea. But the vessel was lost, with all on board; and nothing was recovered but this picture, which floated into the harbor of Genoa, uninjured by the winds and waves. The Sicilian monks reclaimed it; but the exultant Genoese refused to surrender their prize, until the Pope himself intervened. It is now at Madrid.

"The Madonna of the Pearl" represents the loving and tender Virgin holding Jesus on her knees, while He reaches out His hands toward St. John, who is offering Him fruit. St. Elizabeth and St. Joseph are also present, — forming a group which illustrates the joys of domestic life. The soft violet tones and minute finish of this work evince great care and precision. It was designed and retouched by the master, and mainly executed by Giulio Romano, at the order of the young Marquis of Mantua. Transferred to

the gallery of Charles I. of England, after his tragic death Philip IV. of Spain secured the work for $10,000. Upon receiving it, the sovereign cried, "This is my pearl;" and it has ever since retained that name, and is now one of the gems of the Madrid Museum.

"The Visitation" portrays the aged St. Elizabeth joyfully saluting the Virgin with the words, "Blessed art thou among women;" while in the background St. John is seen baptizing Jesus in the River Jordan. It was painted at the order of Branconio for a church at Aquila, in the Abruzzi Mountains, and was held in such reverence that no one was allowed to copy it. This was transferred to the Spanish Escurial in 1655, and was carried to Paris by Napoleon, and returned to Madrid after the peace of 1815.

"The Holy Family under the Oak-tree," and "The Holy Family with the Rose," are also in Spain, and were executed from Raphael's sketches and by his pupils. The former is somewhat stiff in its composition, and was painted probably by Francesco Penni. "The Holy Family of the Passeggio" has disappeared; but a copy which cost $15,000 is now in the Bridgewater Gallery,

at London. "The Repose in Egypt," "The Virgin in the Ruins," and other pictures of doubtful authenticity, are described by Passavant.

The architectural and antiquarian studies of the master were now bearing rich fruit, in his reports to the Pope, and his careful drawings. He had been aided and accompanied in many excursions by the erudite Count Castiglione and the antiquarian Andrea Fulvio, who also gave him wise counsel with regard to his reports, and helped him to trace the plan of ancient Rome from its ruins and the descriptions of the Latin authors. He wrote also a manuscript on the subject of art, with copious historical notes, which is now lost, much to the grief of modern scholars.

In 1518 the master was free from the engrossing works at the Vatican; and he therefore devoted his time to the preparation of seven religious pictures, five portraits, and the large frescos in the Chigi Palace. "The Archangel Michael" shows a striking and admirable contrast between the ideal grace of youth and heroism, in the young champion, and the dark and grovelling

figure of Satan, hideous in its deformity. The angel descends like lightning, and disdainfully crushes the demon to the flaming earth, while he raises his spear with both hands, in the act of striking. Louis XIV. placed this picture over his throne at Versailles, as a symbol of the royal power victorious over the insurgents in the wars of the Fronde.

"The Large Holy Family of the Louvre" is also called *La Vierge de Fontainebleau*, and is the largest work on this subject that Raphael ever painted. It shows the Virgin raising Jesus from the cradle, while the kneeling St. Elizabeth is teaching St. John to adore Him, and St. Joseph is wrapped in meditation. This chaste and simple scene illustrates the bliss and the devotion of the Holy Family, in the grandest and most harmonious style of the master, with a noble grouping and purity of manner. Quatremère de Quincy calls it "the *chef-d'œuvre* of all Raphael's Holy Families."

These two pictures were designed and retouched by Raphael, but Giulio Romano did most of the painting. Art-critics maintain that no part of the "St. Michael" came from the

master's pencil, except the original sketch, but concede that the "Holy Family" was from his hand, and was one of his finest works. They were presented to Francis I., the King of France, by Lorenzo de' Medici, who had recently possessed himself unjustly of the Duchy of Urbino, and wished to secure the protection of the King in his usurpation. During the summer the pictures were sent overland on mules, by way of Florence and Lyons, to the royal palace at Fontainebleau. Great was the rejoicing in the court of France over these wonderful works, which surpassed all expectations. It is said that the prodigal Francis rewarded the master so munificently that he entreated him to accept another picture as a present, to which the King made answer that men celebrated in art shared the immortality of great kings, and might treat with them as equals.

"St. Margaret" represents a noble and beautiful maiden, bearing the palm of martyrdom, and treading on a horrible dragon, in allusion to her victory over the temptations of the world by the power of faith. It was drawn by Raphael, and painted by Romano, and was sent to Francis I.

The "St. Margaret" in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna is very similar to that in the Louvre. "The Small Holy Family of the Louvre" shows Jesus standing in the cradle, supported by the Virgin, and caressing the cheeks of St. John, who is held by St. Elizabeth. Raphael made the design, and Romano painted it. The master presented it to Cardinal de Boissy, his friend at the court of France.

In 1518 Raphael painted his finest work in portraiture, a picture of Pope Leo X., with Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterward Pope Clement VII.), and Cardinal Lodovico de' Rossi, Leo's nephew and inseparable companion. This work is now in the Pitti Palace, and shows the truth, style, execution, and coloring of the master in their best aspects. It portrays the white-robed and venerable Pontiff, sitting in an arm-chair and holding an illuminated breviary, with a rich pile of architecture in the background, and the attendant cardinals at the sides.

The portrait of the peerless blonde, Joanna of Arragon, was executed for Lorenzo de' Medici, who sent it to Francis I., a great lover of beautiful women. It is supposed that Raphael painted

the exquisite head, and Romano the rest of the picture. This sweet patrician lady was the daughter of the Duke of Montalto, and the wife of Prince Ascanio Colonna, Constable of Naples. She was one of the most famous wits and beauties of her century, and the heroine of many adventures in prison and in war. It was of this rare damosel that Cardinal Colonna wrote, "But in our time, Nature, the generous creator, wishing to show the world something marvellous, perfect, and resembling the immortals, has created Joanna Arragonia Colonna."

At this time also he executed a portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, Gonfaloniere of Florence, and Duke of Urbino, whose daughter, the famous Catharine de' Medici, married Henri II. of France. The original picture is lost, but a copy remains at Montpellier, showing the Medici features and a rich mediæval costume. Of the many other portraits which Vasari attributes to the master, some are now lost, and others appear unworthy of his pencil.

The famous and well-preserved picture of "The Violin-Player" is probably a portrait of Andrea Marone of Brescia, — a successful young

improvisatore, and a favorite of the Pope. It represents an intellectual face, with large eyes and brown hair, and a well-shaped head. It is in the artist's best manner, and appears to have been a labor of love. This picture was recently purchased from the Sciarra-Colonna family by Lord Russell.

The celebrated portrait of Raphael's mistress, now in the Pitti Palace, shows a beautiful Roman maiden, with a pale oval face, lustrous black eyes, and smiling lips. She is sumptuously dressed in a gold-trimmed bodice, white damask sleeves, and a gracefully draped veil. When compared with the picture of the same maiden painted ten years before, this face shows a wonderful increase in intelligence and animation, such as might be expected in one who had been so long intimate with one of the noblest of minds. Some critics are even of the opinion that these two portraits are of different women; and others see in the face of the Sistine Madonna an ennobled and idealized copy of this portrait.

"The Madonna di San Sisto," more commonly called the Sistine Madonna, and sometimes also

the Dresden Madonna, bears the latter name on account of its present location, and the others because St. Sixtus is the most prominent of the secondary figures in its composition. The Virgin is seen standing on the clouds, in the midst of an immense glory composed of myriads of cherubs' heads, with green curtains drawn away at the sides, giving her the appearance of a miraculous revelation in the heavens. She looks out of the picture with large sweet eyes, in deeply-shadowed rings, and has an expression of combined majesty and melancholy, modesty and innocence. The Child Jesus bears a remarkable resemblance to her, as He rests in her arms in a simple and childlike attitude. His divine face is marked by compressed lips, dilated nostrils, and strong and contemplative eyes which look out into the heart of the reverent visitor. St. Sixtus kneels on the left, in a white tunic and gold-colored pallium bordered with purple, and is praying for his people, to whom he points, while with ecstatic face he regards the Madonna. On the right is the kneeling St. Barbara, with her hands folded on her breast, and her face, filled with love and charity, looking

down on the assembly of the faithful. In the lower part of the picture are two cherubs, of celestial beauty and innocence, leaning on a balustrade, and looking upward.

"This sublimest lyric of the art of Catholicity" was the last work which Raphael completed with his own hands, and appears to have been dictated by a divine inspiration, as an apotheosis of his genius. From this, more than from any other work, he receives his title of "The Divine." Its rare simplicity and sublime ideality unite with a certain unearthly sweetness and supernatural elevation to produce the religious enthusiasm arising in the soul which rightly views the picture. It was after contemplating this work, that Correggio exultingly exclaimed, "I too am an artist!" — as if earth knew no nobler men than those who could thus surpass and look beyond nature, and portray the divine mysteries.

The Sistine Madonna was painted in 1518 for the Benedictine Monastery of San Sisto, at Piacenza, from which it was purchased in 1754, by Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, for $40,000. It was received at Dresden with great pomp, and placed in the reception-hall of the Electoral

Palace, where the throne of Saxony was displaced in order to give it the best-lighted position. Without doubt, it is the finest picture in the North of Europe. It is distinguished for a certain pyramidal symmetry, and for its construction according to the ancient law of the *sectio aurea.*

Later in 1518 the decoration of the Chigi Palace occupied the attention of Raphael, who drew a series of twelve cartoons for the frescos on the ceiling of the lower hall. The subject was Cupid and Psyche, after the fable of Apuleius, and the pictures represent: — The jealous Venus urging her son Cupid to punish her rival, the beautiful Psyche, by inspiring her with love for an unworthy mortal; the enamoured Cupid shows Psyche to the Three Graces; Venus in the presence of Juno and Minerva, searching for Psyche, who had been led away by Cupid, and afterwards abandoned when she broke his commands by looking at him while he slept; Venus hastens to Olympus in her dove-chariot, to secure Jupiter's assistance; she implores him to send Mercury to aid her; Mercury flies forth in search of Psyche; Venus torments her by imposing

arduous tasks, which she accomplishes, even bringing up a vase from the infernal regions; she lays this trophy before the astonished Venus; Jupiter consents to Cupid's union with Psyche; Mercury carries her to Olympus; Cupid vindicates himself before the assemblage of the gods, and Psyche is given ambrosia, and becomes immortal; the gods celebrate the nuptial banquet, while the Three Graces pour perfumes over Psyche, and the rose-crowned Venus prepares to dance. One of the Three Graces is the only painting here by Raphael's own hand; and his pupils fell far short of that high achievement, and finished the work heavily, without delicacy, and in coarse tints.

The "St. John the Baptist in the Desert," now in the Florentine Tribune, was prepared about this time for Cardinal Colonna. It represents a youth of fifteen, seated on a mossy rock, near a spring, in a desert land. He is partly clad in a panther's skin, and holds a scroll in one hand, while with the other he points to the luminous rays which stream from a rude cross. This picture lacks several elements of the master's best style, but became very popular, and was fre-

quently reproduced. It is worthy of mention that this work, the Sistine Madonna, and the banner for the Trinità Church, were the only paintings which Raphael put on canvas, all the remaining easel-pictures being on wood.

King Francis I. gave Raphael an order for twelve cartoons from subjects in the life of Christ, for the tapestries which he presented to the Pope. This royal gift was exhibited for many years in St. Peter's Church, and is now in the Halls of Pius V., at the Vatican. Raphael made sketches for most of these works, but completed only one, "The Massacre of the Innocents," showing three scenes in the horror of Bethlehem, and powerfully expressing the despair of the mothers and the brutality of the soldiers. His pupils finished the other cartoons after his death, incorporating the drawings of the master. They represent the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Resurrection of Christ, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene, Christ in Hades, Christ at Emmaus, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and a labored allegory of the Papacy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Raphael's Last Two Years. — His Personal Appearance and Surroundings. — "The Transfiguration." — Death of Raphael. — His Rank among Artists.

ANTON SPRINGER says that "no artist's life passed so completely and immediately in artistic work as Raphael's. The essence of the beautiful seems indeed to have belonged to him as a personal quality." The world brought to him only joy, and he returned as he had received. He had escaped the poverty and the vicissitudes through which most men of genius struggle upward, and was even shielded from the malignity of hostile criticism. Living in the era of Italian anarchy, he was delivered from its horrors; and the free lances and grim battalions of Borgias and Bourbons shattered each other throughout Tuscany and Lombardy, while he passed his short May-life in depicting and delivering his tender and harmonious message to humanity.

His physical frame was feeble and delicate,

yet symmetrical. He was five feet and eight inches high, with slender arms and chest, firmly built legs and feet, and a long neck. His head was small and shapely, with heavy masses of long brown hair, a beardless face of an olive complexion, tender brown eyes, a large and well-shaped nose, full lips, and an unbroken set of perfect teeth. His features were not regular, but agreeable, and had an expression of grace and sensibility. This delicate and flexible beauty, charming with its open sweetness, was the fair index to a soul at once gentle, chivalrous, self-sacrificing, and free from jealousy.

He was now wealthy, and owned a palace in the city and a villa beyond the walls, and was accustomed to dress richly, after the manner of the Roman court, whose urbane manners he had also made his own. Vasari says that he lived not as a painter, but as a prince. Though his carefully finished sonnets are not remarkable as poetic productions, the correspondence with Castiglione and other scholars shows that his general cultivation was of a high order. His hopes of attaining the rank of a cardinal were now at their highest, according to some accounts, and he was already

chamberlain to the Pope. Besides the noble friends and patrons before alluded to, he had acquired new intimates and an advanced social rank. The correspondence between Cardinals Bembo and Bibiena shows in what great esteem the master was held by both these prelates, and with what friendship he honored them. As an attractive man of the world and an acute judge of human nature, he found means of meeting men of rank on a plane of equality, and thus advancing the interests of his profession.

He was prompt to decline the munificent offers of Francis I., who wished to make him the court-painter of France, though even Leonardo da Vinci was happy at being called to that brilliant court, where he remained until his death. Horace Walpole states that Raphael was also invited by Henry VIII. to visit England, and become attached to the Court of London.

He preferred to abide in his well-beloved Rome, where, indeed, he lived in a style of refined elegance, and maintained the state due to the Prince of Painters. Vasari says that when he went to the papal palace he was usually accompanied by fifty artists of high rank, forming a proud and

brilliant train. Michael Angelo was accustomed to go alone; and one day when he met Raphael and his disciples, he exclaimed, "Where are you going thus, surrounded like a general?" to which his young rival replied, "And you, alone, like the hangman?"

In 1519 the following contemporary description is found in a letter from Calcagnini, the first secretary of the Pope, to Jacob Ziegler, the famous mathematician: "The very rich Raphael da Urbino, who is so much esteemed by the Pope; he is a young man of the greatest kindness, and of an admirable mind. He is distinguished by the first qualities. Thus he is perhaps the first of all the painters, as well in theory as in practice; moreover, he is an architect of such rare talent that he invents and executes things which men of the greatest genius deemed impossible. . . . He is restoring Rome in almost its ancient grandeur; for, by removing the highest accumulations of earth, digging down to the lowest foundations, and restoring every thing according to the description of ancient authors, he has so carried the Pope Leo and the Romans along with him as to induce every one to look on him as a god sent

from Heaven to restore to the ancient city her former majesty. With all this, he is so far from being proud that he comes as a friend to every one, and does not shun the words and remarks of any one. He likes to have his views discussed, in order to obtain instruction and to instruct others, which he regards as the object of life."

The last commission given to Raphael in the Vatican was for the decoration of the fourth hall, now known as *La Sala di Costantino;* and he intended to represent there the union of the Church and State as exemplified in the life of Constantine. The frescos are in imitation of tapestry, and are surrounded by allegorical figures, portraits of the popes, and small historical pictures. The cartoon of "The Battle of Constantine" was entirely executed by the master, and shows the Emperor dashing forward on a white horse, with three armed angels above his head, while Maxentius and the hostile pagan army are being driven into the Tiber. The scene is at the Ponte Molle, with Monte Mario and the Janiculan Hill in the background. The fresco of "Constantine Addressing his Army" was also drawn by the master, and shows the tents of the Roman troops,

near the Tiber, with the Emperor narrating his miraculous vision to his standard-bearers, while in the sky is the apparition of a shining cross. These two grand designs were deprived of much of their boldness and strength by the coldness of the painting, which was done by Giulio Romano.

The hall had hardly commenced to show the designs of the frescos when Leo and Raphael died, and the work was stopped by the practical and art-detesting Pope Adrian VI. But the Medici Pope, Clement VII., gathered the fragments of the Roman school of artists in 1523, and recommenced the decoration of the Hall of Constantine. It was hardly finished when the organization of the Holy League by the Pope drew down the hot anger of the Emperor Charles V., and Rome was plundered and trampled under foot by the imperial troops for seven months, and the rising splendors of the Renaissance were annihilated. Then ensued a solitude and the calm of death, which rested over Italy for three hundred and fifty years.

The unfortunate execution of the Chigi frescos by his delegates, and the comparative inferiority of some of the easel-pictures which had

recently gone out from his studio, the works of the pupils, caused the Roman artists and people to whisper that Raphael's genius was declining. He was deeply wounded by these rumors, and resolved to execute with his own hands a masterpiece which should silence all criticism, and win back the veneration of his contemporaries. At this time Cardinal de' Medici ordered him to paint "The Transfiguration" for the Narbonne Cathedral.

Simultaneously the Cardinal commissioned Sebastino del Piombo to paint "The Raising of Lazarus." Michael Angelo made the drawings for this picture, thinking that their symmetry, filled out with Sebastiano's rich coloring, would produce a work which would far surpass that of his competitor. Raphael said, "Michael Angelo pays me a great honor, since it is in reality himself that he offers as my rival, and not Sebastiano." The Tuscan master had often acknowledged the excellence of the works of his young competitor, and there is no reason to infer that the two artists were engaged in the pettiness of private animosities. Still it is evident that they sometimes clashed, and the only ungracious re-

mark on record as made by Raphael was directed to Angelo, as before stated. At the same time he frequently said that he rejoiced to have lived in Angelo's day, because that great genius showed him a phase of art which the older masters had never developed. Vasari balances the two men fairly, when he says that "when vanquished by Art in the person of Michael Angelo, Nature deigned to be subjugated in that of Raphael, not by Art only, but by goodness also."

"The Transfiguration" is in two sections. The upper part shows Christ rising into the air, with uplifted eyes and arms, in the midst of an ineffable and supernatural light. It is at the moment when the celestial voice cries, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye him." At His side are figures of Moses and Elias; while below, on Mount Tabor, the Apostles Peter, James, and John are prostrate on the ground, dazzled by the mystical light. This majestic scene is contrasted with that in the lower part of the picture, at the foot of the mountain, where an afflicted father has brought his distorted and demon-possessed boy to the Apostles, attended by a crowd of people. But the powerless disciples point up to

Christ, as the only One who has power over all evil things. Their gestures join the action of the two sections of the picture, showing the rich unity and deep significance of the design. The dual arrangement of the transfigured group above and the sad earthly scene below has been severely criticised, but Goethe has defended it most eloquently.

When the work was done, it was retained in Rome as a memorial of its maker, and was kept in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio. In 1797 the French troops removed "The Transfiguration" to Paris, but it was returned to the Vatican in 1815. Countless copies and engravings have been made during the last three centuries, and scattered over the world. The picture is valued by experts at $300,000.

"The Transfiguration" was the last and the noblest of Raphael's paintings, if we except "The Sistine Madonna," with which it stands in unapproachable supremacy, above all other achievements of pictorial art. The coincidence has already been noted, that the two last pictures which the master painted of Christ and of the Madonna leave them in the profound splendor

of their heavenly glorification, portrayed with an inspired art which is at once inimitable and indescribable. As Passavant says: "These two master-pieces are those that have excited the most constant admiration and the warmest veneration during three centuries throughout all Christendom."

After these almost miraculous achievements, no further advance seems to have been possible, even to Raphael. Why, then, need he linger to feel himself falling slowly from his proud eminence, and to decline into an old age surrounded with enemies, like Michael Angelo; or exiled far from his beloved Italy, like Leonardo; or shivering in chill atheism, like Perugino? Why need he stay to see the downfall of art in Rome, and the mournful destruction of the fair city? It was decreed that his glorious life should have no anti-climax of decadence. From the very empyrean of his fame and honor he was ushered into the life immortal, there to dwell, let us hope, with the saints and sages, apostles and heroes, whom his glowing imagination had so often portrayed, and in the very presence of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Son.

Before "The Transfiguration" was completed, its author was stricken down by a violent fever, which quickly made fatal inroads on his delicate organization. Vasari states that his marriage with Maria da Bibiena was then at hand; and, during his last weeks of independence, he was draining the cup of unlawful pleasure to the dregs. On one occasion he indulged in such excesses, that he returned home very ill. The doctors thought that he had taken a severe cold, and he was ashamed to reveal the true cause of his prostration. They therefore bled him, which, in his reduced state, proved speedily fatal. Landon and some other biographers have repeated this painful story; but Passavant, Pungileoni, Longhena, and all the most careful investigators of Raphael's life, agree in saying that the fatal fever arose from his protracted labors in the malarious localities of the Roman ruins. Vasari took his account from the unreliable and somewhat disreputable Fornari, who had published it in 1549, in his "Observations on Ariosto." He adds, with a confidence which seems indeed singular in view of the alleged circumstances, that, "as he embellished the world by his talents while

on earth, so it is to be believed that his soul is now adorning heaven."

Although generally doubted, this story was not disproved for three centuries, until Longhena, in 1823, first demonstrated its high improbability, and then published the true account of the artist's death, which the Abbé Cancellieri received from an ancient manuscript in Cardinal Antonelli's library, indorsed by Camuccini. According to this narrative, which is the only one accepted by modern biographers, Raphael's delicate constitution and limited physical strength had at that time been taxed to the uttermost by his labors in the studio and among the ruins. He was one day busily at work in the Chigi Palace, when he was sent for at court, whither he hastened at great speed, being impatient at the interruption. The Romans have a proverb: *Sole di Marzo, se ti piglia, t'ammazzo.* He arrived at the Vatican breathless and perspiring, and remained for some time in one of the cold and draughty halls, consulting with the Pope about the new works on St. Peter's Church. He quickly felt a violent chill, and returned home, where he was immediately prostrated with the fever.

The entire population of Rome was agitated at the sudden peril which menaced the beloved master, — him who had done so much to make their city famous. The Pope rested under the shadow of the general anxiety, and sent frequent messages of encouragement and his solemn benediction. The sickness lasted but eight days.

Raphael sank rapidly, and soon realized that his earthly life was near its close. He arranged his temporal affairs with tranquillity, and named as executors his old friends, Baldassare Turini and Branconio dall' Aquila, officers of the Papal court. The beautiful house near the Vatican was bequeathed to Cardinal Bibiena, who was then in financial difficulty, and at odds with the Pope. The kinsmen of the Santi family, at Urbino, received a thousand ducats in gold; and the old paternal estate went to the Brotherhood of Santa Maria della Misericordia. The works of art in his studio, and the unfinished commissions at Rome and elsewhere, were left to his favorite pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. A large bequest was made to Margherita, La Fornarina, the maiden whom he had loved so long and so well, and to whom he was always constant.

After having thus settled his affairs with the world, he received the last sacraments of the Church, and commended his soul to God. On the night of Good Friday, April 6, 1520, Raphael died, at the age of exactly thirty-seven years.

The Pope was staying that night in the apartments of the Vatican which Raphael had erected for him, when suddenly they fell into ruins, and he had scarcely escaped from the ominous wreck when the tidings came that the great master was dead. The Roman legend says that the Pontiff burst into tears, and cried out, "*Ora pro nobis*," as if the artist had already become a canonized saint.

The Eternal City was plunged into grief; and the bereft disciples arranged the body to lie in state, on a catafalque surrounded by lighted tapers, with "The Transfiguration" overhead. Here his friends came, in mournful groups, and looked for the last time on the sweet and beloved face, in the presence of his crowning work. The great light of the city had been extinguished. Count Castiglione wrote to his mother, "It seems to me that I am no longer in Rome, since my poor

dear Raphael is not here." "He was mistaken. Raphael lives ever in Rome; as much as Paul or Cæsar," — adds an eloquent American.

Thousands of citizens followed his body to the Pantheon; and the unfinished "Transfiguration," on which the colors were yet damp, was borne in the solemn procession. He was buried in a chapel which he had previously restored and fitted for the purpose, and which he had endowed with a house, whose rent should defray the expenses of twelve masses monthly at its altar. This rite was kept up for 185 years, until the income from the house had dwindled to an insufficient sum. The chapel was decorated, at the master's order, with a marble statue of the Virgin, by Lorenzetto, which is now venerated by the Romans as instrumental in several miracles. In 1833 the tomb was opened, and the complete skeleton of Raphael was found and exposed to the reverent view of an immense number of Romans. After five weeks the precious remains were enclosed in a leaden coffin and a marble sarcophagus, after which they were restored to the sepulchre-chapel, in a solemn night-service, when the Pantheon was illuminated, and the chief literati and artists of the city bore torches in the funeral procession.

Bembo composed the following epitaph for the tomb of his friend: —

D. O. M.
RAPHAELI · SANCTIO · IOANN · F · URBINATI
PICTORI · EMINENTISS · VETERVMQ · AEMVLO
CVIVS · SPIRANTES · PROPE · IMAGINES · SI
CONTEMPLERE NATVRAE · ATQVE · ARTIS · FOEDVS
FACILE · INSPEXERIS
IVLII II · ET LEONIS · X · PONT · MAXX · PICTVRAE
ET · ARCHITECT · OPERIBVS · GLORIAM · AVXIT
VIX · ANNOS · XXXVII · INTEGER · INTEGROS
QVO · DIE · NATVS · EST · EO · ESSE · DESIIT
VIII · ID · APRILIS · MDXX.
ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL TIMVIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI
RERVM MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI.

(Dedicated to Raphael Sanzio, the son of Giovanni of Urbino, the most eminent painter, who emulated the ancients. In whom the union of Nature and Art is easily perceived. He increased the glory of the Pontiffs Julius II. and Leo X. by his works of painting and architecture. He lived exactly thirty-seven years, and died on the anniversary of his birth, April 6, 1520.

Living, great Nature feared he might outvie
Her works, and, dying, fears herself to die.)

When Lomazzo of Milan gave symbols to the great painters of the Renaissance, he assigned to Mantegna the serpent of sagacity, to Michael Angelo the dragon of contemplation, and to Raphael the figure of a man, the emblem of incarnate intellect and graceful strength. No artist was ever endowed with such a power of assimilation as this one, who gathered and blended the true, the beautiful, and the good, from Umbria and Florence and Rome, and placed them on the glowing canvas. Yet he avoided all taint of eclecticism, and was ever the same in himself.

Angelo's best work was done when he was sixty-seven years of age, Titian's after his seventieth year, and Murillo's after he had passed fifty. But into the short springtime of the life of the Urbinese painter was compressed an enormous amount of work, enlightened by a fully-ripened judgment. The prodigality of invention and the accuracy in design in his paintings are continued through countless original drawings, which are overflowing with conscientious brain-work and earnest study.

Raphael is at the head of the art of painting, because, although not pre-eminent in all its departments, he combined more excellences and

fewer defects than any other painter. In drawing he could not surpass Michael Angelo, though he had no other peer. In chasteness of design he resembled the ancient Greeks, attaining a marvellous symmetry, a wisdom of selection, and a close adherence to the best natural and ideal models. The expressive heads of his men, the apostles, martyrs, and saints, are among his noblest works. His figures are personified emotions, delicately and inimitably shown in all their gradations, and illuminated by the rare faculty which he had of placing himself in imagination under similar circumstances with his subjects.

In the quality of grace, the master was so endowed as to have won the name of "The new Apelles." This trait appears in the tender faces and delicate forms of his Madonnas and children, where modesty and purity are portrayed with a charming freedom of execution and an evident innate facility of comprehension.

In coloring and chiaroscuro he may have been inferior to Titian and Correggio, but was far in advance of Michael Angelo and his other contemporaries. The portraits of the Popes show his best work in this regard, since in them he was

precluded from invention, and there remained only this one method of attaining distinction.

In the composition of groups, and unity of action, he is unsurpassed, and exhibits a rare skill in disposing of masses of light and shade. The costumes of the figures are of remarkable accuracy and careful harmony with the era represented. The sublimity exhibited in many of his religious paintings has never been equalled since, and impresses the lightest mind with its pure grandeur. At the same time, the representations of sensuous scenes and fascinating voluptuousness in classic fables or on the pagan Olympus are full-blooded and seductive, true to the motives of the myths, and to the taste of the licentious patrons who ordered them.

But the crowning talent of the master, and that which gave him his highest merit and his wonderful celebrity, was his marvellous felicity in the invention and disposition of subjects, in which he has had no equal. He includes the whole theme under illustration in one rapid survey, and makes the story easily intelligible by skilful arrangements of figures, judicious selections of circumstances, and the subordination and blending of numerous

collateral episodes with the main action of the picture.

Schelling says that "Raphael takes possession of the bright Olympus, and carries us away from earth to the assemblage of the gods — beings permanent and useful. The prime of the most cultivated life, the sweet fragrance of imagination, and the vigorous power of mind, all breathe forth from his works. He is no longer a painter: he is at once a philosopher and a poet. His wisdom equals the power of his mind; and things are ordered in the everlasting decrees just as he portrays them. In him art has reached its goal; and, as the human and divine can be purely balanced at *one* point alone, the stamp of uniqueness is impressed on all his works."

A LIST OF

RAPHAEL'S PAINTINGS

NOW IN EXISTENCE, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *The interrogation-point after a title signifies that the picture is regarded as unauthentic by two or more critics, while others maintain its genuineness.*

ITALY.

ROME. — *The Vatican*, —The Transfiguration, 1519–20; the Madonna of Foligno, 1512; the Coronation of the Virgin, 1503; predella-pictures of the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation, 1503; the Assumption; Faith, Hope, and Charity, predella-pictures. *The Stanze of Raphael*, — Theology, the School of Athens, Parnassus, and Jurisprudence, executed 1508–11; the Expulsion of Heliodorus, Mass of Bolsena, Repulse of Attila, and Liberation of St. Peter, 1512–14; and the Halls of the Incendio and of Constantine, decorated by his pupils from his designs; the Loggie, 1514–16; the Gallery of Tapestries, twenty-one in number, 1515–19.

Borghese Palace, — The Entombment, 1507; the Marriage of Roxana, 1515; Cardinal Borgia; Raphael (?). *Bar-*

berini Palace, — La Fornarina, 1511. *Academy of St. Luke*, — St. Luke, and the Virgin (partly). *La Farnesina*, — Galatea, 1513; Cupid and Psyche, 1518–19. Late in *Sciarra-Colonna Palace*, — The Violin-Player. *Santa Maria della Pace*, — Mosaics and statuary. *Santa Maria del Popolo*, — Sibyls and Prophets, 1513. *St. Agostino*, — Fresco of Isaiah, 1512.

FLORENCE. — *Pitti Palace*, — Portraits of Angelo and Maddalena Doni, 1506; Pope Julius II., 1511; Pope Leo X., 1518; Phædra Inghirami, 1513; Cardinal Bibiena; the Vision of Ezekiel, 1513; the Madonna del Baldacchino, 1507; Madonna della Sedia, 1516; Madonna della Gran Duca, 1504; Madonna dell' Impannata, 1512; La Fornarina, 1518.

Uffizi Gallery, — Portrait of a Lady, 1512; Julius II., 1511; Raphael, 1506; St. John in the Desert, 1518–19; Madonna del Cardellino, 1506.

Academy of St. Mark, — Two monks, 1506. *St. Onofrio*, — Fresco of the Last Supper (?).

MILAN. — Lo Sposalizio, 1504; water-color sketch of nude figures.

PERUGIA. — *St. Pietro de' Cassinense*, — Infant Jesus and St. John, before 1500. *San Severo*, — The Trinity and Carmelite Monks, 1505. *Brescia*, — Pax Vobis, 1505. *Bergamo*, — St. Sebastian, 1504. *Bologna*, — St. Cecilia, 1513–17. *Città del Castello*, — Banner of Santa Trinità, 1500.

NAPLES. — *National Museum*, — Holy Family of Naples, 1512; Madonna and Saints; Cardinal Passerino (?); Tebaldeo (?).

FRANCE.

THE LOUVRE. — La Belle Jardinière, 1508; the Virgin with a Diadem; the Large Holy Family, or La Vierge de Fontainebleau, 1518; the Small Holy Family, 1518; St. Margaret, 1518; St. Michael and the Dragon, 1518; St. George; St. Michael; St. Cecilia (fresco), 1515; Castiglione, 1513; Joanna of Arragon, 1518; Portrait of a Young Man; Portrait (?).

SPAIN.

MADRID MUSEUM. — Madonna del Pesce, 1513; Madonna of the Pearl, 1517; Madonna of the Rose; Holy Family at the Oak, 1507; the Visitation, 1517; Lo Spasimo, 1517; Holy Family; Bibiena, 1513; two portraits of men.

ENGLAND.

LONDON. — *National Gallery*, — St. Catherine of Alexandria, 1507; the Knight's Dream, 1500; Julius II. (replica) Aldobrandini Madonna, 1511; replica of the Bridgewater Madonna; Archangels Michael and Raphael.

South-Kensington Museum, — Portrait of a Young Man; seven cartoons for the tapestries. *Lord Ward*, — The Gavarni Crucifixion, 1500; the Three Graces, 1506; *Munro Collection*, — Madonna with Candelabra, 1516. *Lady Burdett-Coutts*, — Christ on the Mount of Olives, 1504; Madonna with Jesus Standing, 1512. *Dulwich College*, — St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua.

Bridgewater Gallery, — Holy Family at the Palm-Tree, 1506; Madonna of the Bridgewater Gallery, 1512; and two dubious Madonnas.

Penshangar (Lord Cowper), — Madonna, 1505; Madonna della Casa Nicolini, 1507. *Blenheim Palace*, — Madonna dei Ansidei. *Bowood*, — Predella of the Blenheim Madonna. *Barron Hill*, — Pietà. *Charlcote Park*, — The Marquis of Mantua, 1511. *Leigh Court*, — Christ Bearing the Cross; Julius II.; Madonna (?). *Alnwick Castle*, — Madonna with the Pink; St. Catherine and Mary Magdalen, 1502.

GERMANY.

BERLIN MUSEUM, — Solly Madonna, 1501; Madonna with Sts. Jerome and Francis, 1503; Terranuova Madonna, (coi Bambini), 1505; Madonna della Casa Colonna, 1508; Pietà, 1504; St. Lodovico; St. Ercolano, 1504; Diotalevi Madonna; Adoration of the Shepherds (?). *Dr. Spicker*, — A Carthusian Monk.

MUNICH PINAKOTHEK, — Holy Family of the Canigiani Family, 1506; Madonna della Tenda, 1516; Madonna of the Tempi Family, 1506; Baptism and Resurrection of Christ (two doubtful pictures); Bindo Altoviti, 1512; Portrait of a Man, 1505; Small Head frescoed on a brick, 1505.

DRESDEN MUSEUM, — The Sistine Madonna, 1518.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA BELVEDERE, — Holy Family al Verde, 1507; St. Margaret. *Pesth*, — Madonna from Esterhazy Gallery.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Hermitage Palace*, — The Alba Madonna, 1511; the Staffa Madonna; the Holy Family with

the Beardless St. Joseph, 1506; Portrait of an Old Man, (Sannazaro?); St. George, 1506.

*** *Numerous other pictures in Passavant's long list of doubtful Raphaels are regarded as genuine productions of the great master by competent modern critics, such as Waagen and Wornum; but it seems inexpedient to give here the titles of these controverted paintings.*

The pictures now in America attributed to Raphael are not mentioned in the list, because the proofs of their authenticity are not easily accessible. The Pietà, which was purchased by Mr. J. J. Jarves, and is now in the Yale-College Gallery, is undoubtedly an early work of Raphael.

The author will welcome corrections as to any point in which the list is erroneous or imperfect.

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